TIE CREEK STUDY

AN

ANISHINABE

UNDERSTANDING

OF

THE PETROFORMS

IN

WHITESHELL PROVINCIAL PARK

Prepared by:

Roseau River Chapter
Three Fires Society
Ginew, Manitoba

Prepared for:

Parks Branch
Manitoba Department of
Natural Resources
Winnipeg, Manitoba

February 1990

90-06996/

NOTICE

This study identifies the locations of known petroforms. Some of the sites are known to have been disturbed already. It is very important that the rest of the sites remain intact in order to facilitate proper research and understanding of their function.

Manitoba petroforms are historical cultural resources which are considered to be "world-class", the largest known concentration of such features in North America. There may be other sites not yet discovered; if you chance to come upon such a site, please report your findings to the address below. Such discoveries could prove very important to our understanding of local and regional history.

For further information, please contact:

Archaeology Section
Historic Resources Branch
Manitoba Culture, Heritage and Recreation
177 Lombard Avenue
Winnipeg, Manitoba
R3B 0W5
or phone 945-4392

PHOTO CREDITS

Photographs of Native dancers were taken by Jeannie Daniels and are reprinted here with permission.

Photographs and drawings of petroforms come from the files and publications of Parks Branch and Historic Resources Branch, unless otherwise stated.

STUDY STEERING COMMITTEE

Parks Branch assembled the following study steering committee:

Gord Jones, Chief of Planning, Parks Branch, Natural Resources

Gary Dickson, Assistant Archaeologist, Historic Resources Branch, Culture Heritage and Recreation

Helios Hernandez, Resource Management Planner, Parks Branch, Natural Resources

Dan Thomas, Native Studies Consultant, Native Education Branch, Education.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report is presented in two parts. Part 1 was prepared by the Roseau River Chapter of the Three Fires Society, a Native organization dedicated to traditional ways. It presents an Anishinabe (Ojibway) understanding of the petroforms in eastern Manitoba, in general, and those in Whiteshell Provincial Park - collectively referred to as "Tie Creek" - in particular. Part 2 contains a Commentary prepared for the Chapter by Dr. Katherine Pettipas, Curator of Native Ethnology at the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature. It discusses the research that has been conducted on petroform sites in Manitoba to date, evaluates the contribution of this study to the knowledge of these types of sites, and examines information from the United States and elsewhere regarding the identification, interpretation, protection, preservation, and contemporary use of indigenous sacred sites.

The purpose of this study was to obtain a comprehensive inventory of significant ethnographic cultural sites and features within the Tie Creek basin of Whiteshell Provincial Park, to determine their interrelationships, and to identify current Native perceptions regarding past, present, and future activities in the basin.

Western scholars who have studied the cultural phenomenon of petroforms in Canada and the United States have generally referred to these features as "art". Religious significance has been ascribed to some sites but this has not been reflected in their nomenclature. Studies have also tended to be site- or feature-specific rather than encompassing the surrounding environment or considering linkages to other sites and areas, nearby or beyond current political boundaries.

The sites are traditional forms of sacred grounds. As such, the meanings attached to the petroforms are akin to the knowledge contained in Western libraries and museums where both secular and sacred cultural information has been recorded for preservation and learning. The sites thus parallel the functions of both Western schools and Christian churches whereby this information is transmitted to future generations through teachers, elders and religious leaders. Therefore, the issues of their physical protection and accessibility are of paramount importance to some Native groups, indeed, some individuals insist, for their very survival as individuals and as Native people.

This area is known to Anishinabe as ***Manito Ahbee*** (where God sits). This area is the Genesis of the Midewewin, a closed, secret society among the Anishinabe. Manito Ahbee is the Anishinabe Garden of Eden. Here Original Man received his instructions "written" with the stones that make up the petroforms.

Although scholars have attempted to interview Native people in nearby communities about their interpretations of the petroforms, such information has not readily been forthcoming to date. This is not surprising, given the well-documented history of repression of Native culture and religion in North America. In addition, such information must be "earned" in traditional ways, not through interviews. Some of the knowledge is also only available to the formally taught and initiated. It is thus not available to either the Native or non-Native

general public, nor even to the total membership of the Midewewin. Despite these limitations, however, there are historical accounts and other documents and scholarly studies that support the sacred and ceremonial nature of the petroform sites. Such knowledge is still being transmitted today.

Since Native history is an oral history, no two versions are the same. In the Midewewin Society, there are seven sacred teachings and seven levels of understanding to each teaching. One must "earn" the right to hear; asking for a level of information one has not earned is impolite at least, if not sacrilegious. Some Elders are reluctant to divulge information given to them in sacred trust and, understandably, have a long-standing policy against the recording of such information; others are willing to share this information for the benefit of all people.

The principal method of study was to interview Elders and knowledgeable persons about the area. This study presents what can be revealed at this time, based on the most reliable information and research at hand and as endorsed by those knowledgeable Elders of the Midewewin who were willing to participate in the study. It presents our understanding. We wish to offend no one; this is how it was taught to us. We ask for your understanding and your respect for this version and this one interpretation.

Manito Ahbee is known not only to the Anishinabe; other tribes in many other parts of North America, such the Mohawks of New York and the Dakota, also have information or teachings on this area.

Manito Ahbee is a major site in the "corridor" of successive Anishinabe rock paintings, rock carvings, petroglyphs, and petroforms recording the teachings, prophecies, history and migration of the people from the Atlantic to the Rocky Mountains.

The petroforms contain teachings of the Clan System which defines the roles and responsibilities for the Anishinabe.

The Midewewin is a society, not a clan. Only an elite who have earned the right to be included in certain ceremonies can participate. Only a select few ever crossed the boundaries in Manito Ahbee to attain the highest level of understanding.

Manito Ahbee is many things. It is a teaching place and it is a healing place for the physically, emotionally and spiritually sick. It is also a spiritual doorway to another level of understanding. More cannot be said without hurting our credibility or incurring ridicule. And it also is a physical reminder of the instructions given to us.

Some of the petroforms have been disturbed by people, snowmobiles, timber cutting, and some were bulldozed. As a result some sites are no longer as they were.

Little detailed information was compiled on the use of the area for such activities as berry picking, medicine gathering, and ceremonial uses. This may be for several reasons. Park rules, regulations, permit requirements, and fees regarding camping, fires, littering, etc. inadvertently discourage Native people from using the area. There is also a need for privacy during ceremonies.

Generally, Native people world-wide have avoided publicizing the existence of sacred lands such as the petroform sites as a method of protecting them, in the hope that if no one knows about them nothing will happen to them. Identification of sacred sites generally only occurs when a direct crisis or threat to the area looms. Studies in the United States have documented the traditional attitudes towards sacred lands, and the problems that have been encountered with their continued use and protection. Historically, information on such sacred lands has not generally been volunteered to prevent their being misused by both Native and non-Native people. Such a situation now exists with the sites in the Whiteshell.

One objective of the study was to determine if a proposed interpretive centre at Tie Creek was acceptable to Native people. This concept is strongly supported, but not at the site. Manito Ahbee should be used as a gathering place for Native people to relearn spiritual teachings. There should be another area closer to modern conveniences where a world class interpretive centre could be built. The co-operation of many Native organizations would be assured if they were invited in a joint management program. This project has real economic potential, and should be given serious consideration through an adequately funded study.

Native people have lost sacred land and resources to extraction without benefits. The best known example is the Dakota people's sacred Black Hills of South Dakota.

In the United States, land use controversies over commercial resource extraction and development and the need to preserve the integrity sacred lands have ended up in court. Issues that have arisen include questions of what constitutes a sacred site, who has access, and definition of boundaries. Decisions have often been made from a Western Christian ethnographic perspective despite the testimonies of Elders and medicine people. All of these issues are applicable in the Whiteshell.

During the study the contractors met with quarrying interests and conveyed the information on the proposed quarrying developments to Elders and other interested Native people to ascertain their position on resource extraction. Commercial resource extraction and intensive recreational development in the study area is totally opposed by Native people and would be a desecration of sacred ceremonial grounds.

Native people contend that they did not willingly give up control of the resources and of all the lands in the Treaties that were concluded. Manito Ahbee was supposed to be retained land and should have been written as such in the Treaties signed in 1871. At one time three bands resided in the Manito Ahbee area but they were chased off or relocated some time after the signing of the Treaty. An 1875 Memorandum signed by the Governor General further supports the contention that there were ongoing discussions about the contents of the Treaties and so-called "outside promises".

The Native people cannot and will not define arbitrary boundaries of Manito Ahbee at this time.

It is essential that this area be accessible and used for the well-being of the living and for future generations.

It is recommended that the Province open a dialogue with Native people, with a view to returning control of these sacred grounds. As an interim step, a joint management board of Native and non-Native people should be set up and funded to preserve, protect and jointly manage the petroforms.

The Province of Manitoba's actions and attitudes have been very fair in funding this study and in seeking the Native perspective on a very sensitive issue. Many Native people were pleased to be asked to express their opinions. We hope that this study and the government's response to it will assure those Elders who had misgivings, and Native people in general, that the door is open to further dialogue on the issue of the land at Manito Ahbee, and how it is to be treated with the respect it deserves.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

NOTICE ii
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY iii

PART 1 - AN ANISHINABE UNDERSTANDING xi

INTRODUCTION 1
THE SCOPE, SPECIFICS, AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY 2
  Purpose 2
  Study Area 2
  Objectives 4
  Limitations 6
APPROACH 5
GLOSSARY 6
FOREWORD ON INTERPRETATION 9
BACKGROUND ON ANISHINABE 9
BACKGROUND OF THE THREE FIRES SOCIETY 12
ONE ANISHINABE UNDERSTANDING OF THE PETROFORMS 13
  Our Understanding 15
  The Clan System 15
  Linkages and Relationships Among Sites 21
  Spiritual Learning Centres 21
INTERPRETATIONS OF INDIVIDUAL PETROFORM SITES 25
  The Ghost Lodge (Shaking Tent) 26
  Immortality 28
  The Sweat Lodge 29
  Birch Bark Scrolls 31
  Bannock Point Turtle and Snake Petroform 33
OTHER USES OF THE AREA 35
THE INTERPRETIVE CENTRE 36
RECREATIONAL USE OF MANITO AHBEE 37
COMPATIBILITY OF RESOURCE EXTRACTION ACTIVITIES 37
  The Spiritual (Sacred) Value of Manito Ahbee 39
  Relationship of Resource Extraction to Native People 40
  The Larger Question of Ownership 41
  Relationship to Manito Ahbee 42
  Summary Points 43
CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS 46
  Conclusions 47
  Recommendations 48
APPENDIX A: TRANSCRIPTS OF INTERVIEWS 50
  Edward Benton Banai 51
  Dave Courchene Jr. 53
  George Courchene 54
  Jim Dumont 54
  Mary and Harry Roberts 57
  Acknowledging Our Interviews 58

APPENDIX B: RESOLUTIONS OF SUPPORT 59
  Southeast Resource Development Council 60
  Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs 61
APPENDIX C: ADDITIONAL FIGURES AND PHOTOGRAPHS 62

PART 2 - A COMMENTARY by Dr. Katherine Pettipas 74

INTRODUCTION 75
PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH RESEARCH APPROACHES TO PETROFORMS 75
TREATMENT OF PETROFORMS IN THIS STUDY 76
HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL FACTORS INFLUENCING RESEARCH 78
  History of Religious Repression 78
  Impact of Ceremonial Repression on Fieldwork 79
  Antiquity and Historical Site Use of Tie Creek 80
  Cultural Factors Influencing Communication of Information 81
  Relevance to the Present Study 82
EVIDENCE RELATING TO HISTORY AND USE OF TIE CREEK BASIN AREA 82
  Cecil Patterson Correspondence 82
  Katherine Pettipas Files 84
  George Barker 86
  A. I. Hallowell 88
  Sir Alexander Mackenzie 88
  Thomas McKenney 88
DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS 90
  Significance of the Petroform Sites in the Whiteshell Area 90
    From the Anishinabe (Midewewin) Perspective 90
    From the Perspective of Social Scientists 91
  Problems Associated With Sacred Sites 92
    Traditional Attitudes Towards Sacred Sites 92
    Traditional Use of Sacred Sites 93
    Traditional Attitudes Towards Non-Native Documentation 93
    Non-Native Factors Affecting Sacred Site Use 94
    Accessibility To Sacred Sites in the United States 95
      What Constitutes a Sacred Site? 96
      Who Has Access to Sacred Sites? 97
      A Question of Boundaries 97
      Federal and Provincial Jurisdiction Over Sacred Sites 98
RECOMMENDATIONS 99
REFERENCES CITED 100
APPENDIX 1: NEWSPAPER REPORTS OF THE DISCOVERY OF THE TIE CREEK PETROFORMS IN 1934 REFLECT PREVALENT ATTITUDES TOWARDS NATIVE RELIGIONS 102
APPENDIX 2: CORRESPONDENCE ON BANNOCK POINT AND TIE CREEK FROM THE CECIL PATTERSON FILE 105
APPENDIX 3: DRAWINGS OF TIE CREEK PETROFORMS AND EXAMPLES OF INFORMATION RECORDED ON SACRED BIRCH BARK SCROLLS 109
APPENDIX 4: EXAMPLES OF SPECIFIC PROBLEMS IN THE USE OF FEDERAL LANDS FOR RELIGIOUS PURPOSES IN THE UNITED STATES 115

LIST OF FIGURES

Page

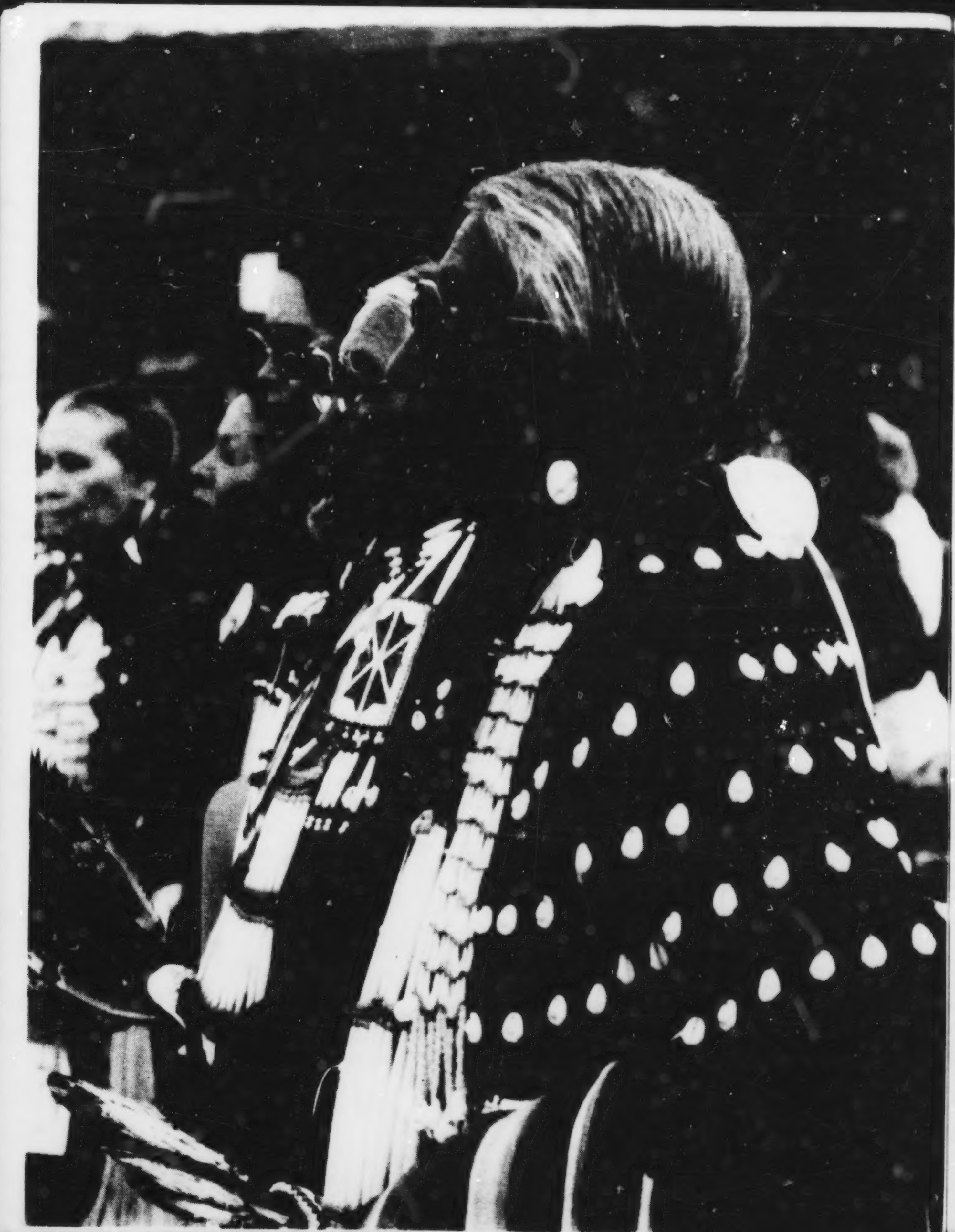
Figure 1. Core Study Area 3
Figure 2. Known Petroform and Cultural Sites in the Study Area 7
Figure 3. The Anishinabe Nation 10/11
Figure 4. Ghost Lodge (Shaking Tent), Tie Creek Site, Whiteshell Park 27
Figure 5. Human Effigy Figure, Bannock Point, Whiteshell Provincial Park, Manitoba 28
Figure 6. Sweat Lodge Feature, Tie Creek Site, Whiteshell Provincial Park 30
Figure 7. Birch Park Scroll Feature, Tie Creek Site 32
Figure 8. Turtle and Snake Petroform, Bannock Point, Whiteshell Provincial Park 33
Figure 9. Granite deposits in the study area and their relationship to known petroforms, cultural and archaeological sites 38

PART 1

AN

ANISHINABE

UNDERSTANDING



INTRODUCTION

On May 3rd, 1989, D.F. Stewart, Manitoba Deputy Minister of Natural Resources signed a contract awarding a provincially-funded study to a Native group, the Three Fires Society Inc. The Society was to undertake a Native interpretation of the Tie Creek petroforms. Petroforms are defined as features formed by the placement (not piling) of stones so as to create the outline of a figure. Such features exist in abundance in the Whiteshell Provincial Park and are considered to be "world class", a prime example of an "internationally significant cultural resource".

An important requirement of this study was the gathering of information directly from Native people. Various research studies previously funded by the province were awarded to professionals, (i.e. anthropologists and archaeologists), and those studies have given the non-Native view of the petroforms. It was obviously felt that it was time Native people were given an opportunity to express their understanding of the petroform sites. This study is the result of that opportunity afforded to Native people.

The contract was awarded to the Roseau River Three Fires Society, a local chapter of a larger international group of traditional "people of the Midewewin". The Three Fires Executive in charge of the study was Charles Nelson, and the principal researcher and writer was Terrance Nelson.

An extensive commentary by Dr. Katherine Pettipas, Curator of Native Ethnology, Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature, who was one of the study advisors, has been included as a separate section of the report. She presents background information relating to present-day and historical interest in the petroforms. Her commentary also examines the subject of sacred lands. This information provides valuable insight into the complexity of ethnographic/archaeological research and the importance of this study.

THE SCOPE, SPECIFICS, AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Purpose

Schedule A of the contract stated that the purpose of the study was:

"To obtain a comprehensive inventory of significant ethnographic cultural sites and features within the Tie Creek Basin, to determine their interrelationships, and to identify current Native perceptions regarding past, present and future activities in the basin.

In this study, "Ethnographic sites" shall include all land use, cultural, or ceremonial sites, areas and locations used by Native peoples in the study area both now and in the past. More specifically, it shall include but not be limited to:

- *ceremonial/religious/cultural sites*
- *habitations or other permanent/temporary occupation sites*
- *travelways*
- *berry picking, ricing, or other areas where plants grow that are collected or harvested for food, timber, firewood, medicinal uses, ceremonial uses or other uses at the site or elsewhere*
- *use of minerals*
- *fishing*
- *trapping*
- *hunting"*

Study Area

The core of the study area for the project was to be the Tie Creek basin within Whiteshell Provincial Park as shown on Figure 1. Whiteshell Provincial Park is the second largest of the major Manitoba provincial parks encompassing some 2,764 square kilometres in southeast Manitoba. Its Park Precepts state:

"Whiteshell Provincial Natural Park will:

protect and preserve significant examples of natural history and the outstanding cultural history exemplified by native petroforms...

be Manitoba's key recreational area in the Canadian Shield providing opportunities for high quality camping and extensive trail systems for year-round use...

provide for the current level of high-quality cottaging...

provide an accessible Wilderness Zone for non-motorized recreational pursuits...

be managed to maintain a diverse sport fishery...

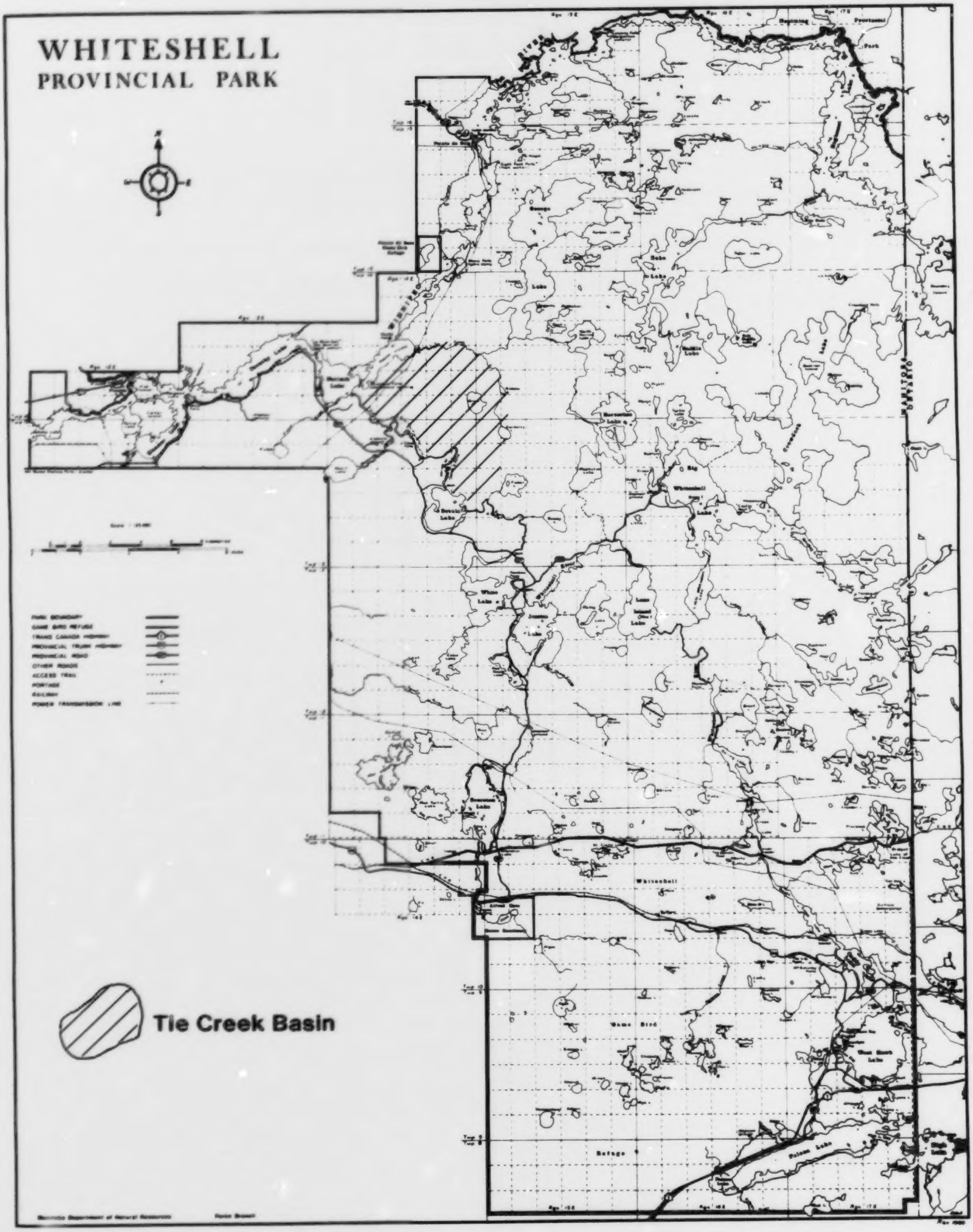

WHITESHELL
PROVINCIAL PARK
Tie Creek Basin
Whiteshell
Game Bird
Refuge

Figure 1. Core Study Area

> *accommodate resource harvesting without detriment to the park environment and visitors."*

The study was also to take into account the existence of significant or strongly linked sites outside the Basin, elsewhere in Whiteshell Provincial Park or beyond the park. These sites were to be identified as much as possible to place them in proper context, but pursuing detailed documentation on these was not within the scope of the study.

Objectives

Schedule A of the contract states:

"The specific objectives of the study are:

1. *To identify and map the locations of ethnographic cultural, ceremonial, and other land use activities, sites and areas.*
2. *To ascertain their significance to living Native peoples.*
3. *To document their use historically and at present.*
4. *To ascertain the linkages and relationships between sites.*
5. *To compile information on the Native people's perception on whether Native cultural history and values should be interpreted in a proposed Whiteshell Native History Interpretive Centre and, if so, to compile information on what themes and aspects of Native culture and history should be so interpreted and the most suitable location of such a centre.*
6. *To compile information on the Native people's perception of the compatibility of extensive or intensive recreational activities (e.g. camping, backcountry hiking) with these sites in both place and time.*
7. *To compile information on the Native people's perception of the compatibility of industrial extraction activity (e.g. mining, forestry, granite quarries, etc.) with these sites in both place and time.*
8. *To provide information on locations identified (in (1) above) during the study for investigation/evaluation on the ground by subsequent archaeological studies."*

Limitations

The time frame and limited budget restricted the amount of interviews and travel; therefore there had to be a careful selection of people who we believed had the information we needed.

Native history is an oral history; hence, no two versions are exactly the same.

In the Midewewin Society, there are seven sacred teachings and seven levels of understanding to each of the teachings. It is at least impolite, if not sacrilegious, to ask for a level of information one has not "earned" the right to hear.

Elders are reluctant to divulge information which was given to them in a sacred trust.

There is a lack of trust by Native people that the information given will be treated with respect, in view of the past history of persecution and attempts to eradicate Native teachings, traditions and culture.

APPROACH

The method of the study was to interview Elders and knowledgeable persons (not all of whom are or wish to be identified as Three Fires people) to ascertain the significance of the petroforms to living Native people. The use of a questionnaire was considered, worked on and subsequently discarded. Elders did not want to be tied down to a questionnaire format and most other Natives had too much of surveys and studies: "We've been studied to death!"

Several interviews are presented in Appendix A; however, the transcripts of most are not included out of respect for some Elders. It is a long-standing policy of some Elders not to record or be associated with the recording of this information. Other Elders have the opposite view, and are willing to share this information for the benefit of all people.

It is, of course, impossible to interview all persons having knowledge on the issue in question, given the time and budget limitations. As the next section "Foreword on Interpretation" states, the study can only hope to give one version based on the most reliable information and research at hand and as endorsed by those knowledgeable Elders of the Midewewin who were willing to participate in the study.

A total of 29 interviews of varying lengths were conducted. Two workshops were held wherein approximately 35 and 50 people participated. Copies of the study drafts were sent to respected Elders and traditional people for their comments and review of the information provided. Repeated consultations with some Elders were made; for example, a total of six trips to Wisconsin were made, in order to ensure the findings are approved. On June 15th 1989, letters were sent to 3 provincial Native political organizations and 7 reservations, to make them aware of the study and its purpose. Resolutions of Support were received from Southeast Resource Development Council and the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs. They are included as Appendix B.

There were extensive literature reviews, on-site trips, and the use of photographs and maps to present the concerns to Elders and to give accurate information.

GLOSSARY

In this study, we use the terms "the area", "that place", "it", "the site", "Manito Ahbee". All refer to the petroforms in southeast Manitoba, **which are generally within Whiteshell Provincial Park and whose heart is the Tie Creek** Basin (Figure 2).

Anishinabe	The name by which our people identify themselves in our language. Other people have used terms such as Ojibway, Chippewa, or Saulteaux to identify us and today many of our people use these terms interchangeably. Some Elders state that the term Anishinabe refers to the entire indigenous people in North America, and that our proper tribal name is Ojibway.
Elders	Native persons respected for their knowledge and dedicated to the preservation of Native history, culture and spirituality.
Lodge	Within this study, this refers to the Anishinabe "long house". This is a structure where the Anishinabe performed some of their ceremonies and generally discussed the affairs of the Nation.
Midewewin	Also spelled Mitaywin. A closed, secret society among the Anishinabe (Ojibway, Chippewa, Saulteaux), also known as the Grand Medicine Society. The Midewewin have a very structured hierarchy and even today only a select few have earned the right to be a degree person. There are sixteen degrees in the Midewewin Society, sixteen being the high end of the scale. The Society is dedicated to spirituality and the pursuit of knowledge (i.e. herbal remedies, spiritual, mental, physical well-being) that would be of benefit to the Anishinabe people. According to Basil Johnston, author of **Ojibway Ceremonies**, McClelland & Stewart, 1982 (page 95), the term Midewewin could mean *"the Society of the Good Hearted Ones"* (from Mino = good, and dewewin = hearted). It could also mean *"the Resonance"* (from midewe = the sound) as a reference to the drums and the chants that were used in its ceremonies. Dakota Elder Eva McKay stated that the Midewewin was also practised among the Dakota. It is generally accepted that the Cree also practised the Midewewin, as did many other tribes.
Scrolls	Anishinabe people recorded their history, concepts and ceremonies on birch bark. Many of these "birch bark scrolls" still exist.
Waynaboozhoo	Also spelled Nene bush, he is considered to be Original Man. Our "oldest brother", he called everything and everybody sister or brother; his markings are everywhere, and he named everything. He is considered to be both good and evil, both spirit and man. At times a trickster, among the Cree he is sometimes referred to as We Sa Ke Jack.

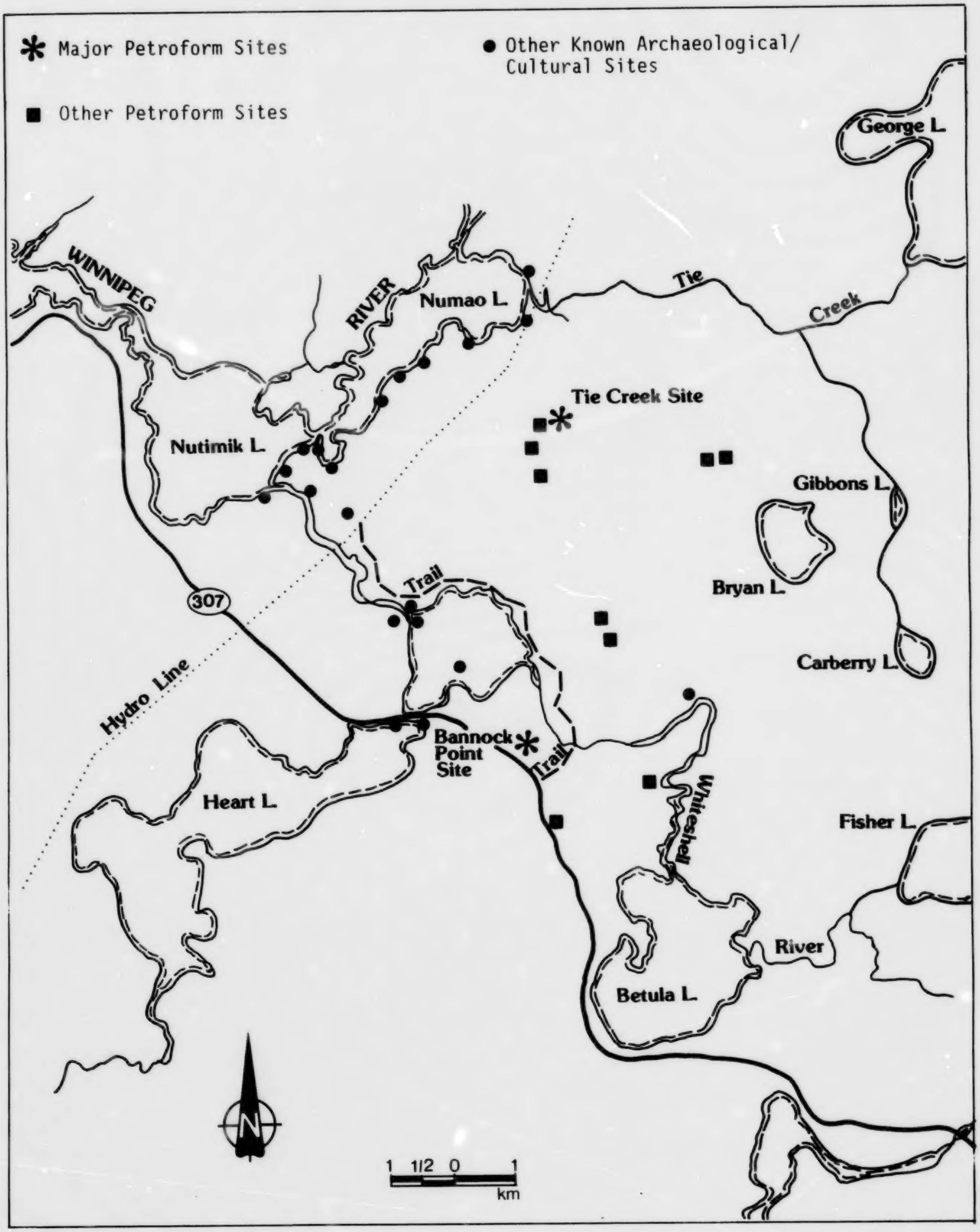

* Major Petroform Sites
● Other Known Archaeological/ Cultural Sites
■ Other Petroform Sites
WINNIPEG
RIVER
Numao L.
Tie
Creek
George L.
Tie Creek Site
Nutimik L.
Gibbons L.
Bryan L.
Trail
307
Hydro Line
Carberry L.
Bannock Point Site
Trail
Heart L.
Whiteshell
Fisher L.
River
Betula L.
N
1 1/2 0 1
km

Figure 2. Known Petroform and Cultural Sites in the Study Area.

FOREWORD ON INTERPRETATION

The interpretations contained in this study are primarily from the understanding and knowledge of the Contractors, based on years of active participation and interviews with respected Elders. There is, however, a common misconception among some Native and non-Native people, that there is somewhere one great Council of Elders which is constantly dispensing words of wisdom and advice to those who seek such help. Unfortunately, such is not the case; the history of the Anishinabe is an oral teaching and rarely are there two versions that are exactly the same.

There are Elders, and there are people of great age, and there is a difference. At times, we've come across Elders or written histories that have definitely been influenced by Christian teachings. This is understandable, given the punishment meted out to Natives in the past for practising their culture and heritage. Consequently, we have used only those versions that we felt contained the teachings as originally given.

There is also a common history for all mankind in some instances, such as the "Great Flood" which is recorded in many cultures, and almost all peoples have a version of this event. Our study is only one version, but it is taken from the Midewewin teachings and Elders who have maintained the original messages as preserved in the past by some of the most secret and closed sectors of the Midewewin. Today those teachings that have been preserved as the least influenced by outside forces are presented in this study. We wish to offend no one; this is how it was taught to us, this is our understanding, this is the one version we can agree with; there are others that can be given equal respect. The scope and limitations of this particular study cannot hope to include them all. We ask for your understanding and your respect for this version and this one interpretation.

Megwetch! (Thank you)

BACKGROUND ON ANISHINABE

In the following pages, you will be presented with background information on the Anishinabe people in order to understand how information was transmitted between tribes. Figure 3 shows the extent and size of the Anishinabe Nation. Much of the information contained in this study has been accessed from the far reaches of our tribes. Amazingly, regions that are very distant (i.e. Wisconsin), sometimes have more information on this area, simply because they continued to maintain the original Midewewin teachings, whereas in other areas, this information may have been lost as a result of the people's assimilation into the dominant society!

ANISHINABE is a term used in our language to identify ourselves. Other people have used terms such as Ojibway, Chippewa or Saulteaux to identify us and today many of our people use these terms interchangeably. Some Elders use the term Anishinabe to mean all indigenous people, and the name Ojibway to denote

NORTH DAKOTA

1. Turtle Mountain

MINNESOTA

2. Fond du Lac
3. Grand Portage
4. Leech Lake
5. Mille Lacs
6. Nett Lake (Bois Forte)
7. Red Lake
8. White Earth
9. Deer Creek
10. Vermillion Lake

WISCONSIN

11. Bad River
12. Lac du Flambeau
13. Lac Courte Oreilles
14. Mole Lake
15. Red Cliff
16. Saint Croix

MICHIGAN

17. Bay Mills
18. Keweenaw Bay
19. Ontonagon
20. Sault Ste. Marie
21. Isabella

ONTARIO

22. Abitibi*
23. Albany*
24. Alderville
25. Batchewana
26. Beausoleil (Christian Island)
27. Big Grassy
28. Big Island
29. Brunswick House*
30. Cat Lake
31. Cockburn Island
32. Couchiching
33. Curve Lake
34. The Dalles
35. Dokis
36. Eagle Lake
37. Fort Hope
38. Fort William
39. Garden River
40. Georgina Islands
41. Grassy Narrows
42. Gull Bay
43. Henvey Inlet
44. Hiawatha
45. Islington
46. Lac La Croix
47. Lac des Mille Lacs
48. Lac Seul
49. Landsdowne House
50. Long Lake
51. Magnetawan
52. Martin Falls
53. Matachewan*
54. Mattagami
55. Michipicoten
56. Mississauga
57. Nawash
58. Moose Deer Point
59. New Credit
60. Naicatchewenin
61. Nicikousemenecaning
62. Nipissing
63. Northwest Angle
64. Onegaming
66. Parry Island
67. Pays Plat
68. Pic Heron Bay
69. Pic Mobert
70. Pikangikum
71. Poplar Hill
72. Rainy River
73. Rama
74. Rat Portage
75. Red Rock
76. Rocky Bay
77. Sandy Lake*
78. Sarnia
79. Saugeen
80. Scugog
81. Seine River
82. Serpent River
83. Shawanaga
84. Sheguiandah*
85. Sheshegwaning
86. Shoal Lake
87. Spanish River
88. Stangecoming
89. Sucker Creek
90. Summer Beaver
91. Temagami*
92. The Thames (Caradot)
93. Thessalon
94. Wabauskang
95. Wabigoon
96. Wahnapitae
97. Walpole Island*
98. Washagamis
99. Webequi
100. Weenusk*
101. West Bay
102. Whitefish Bay
103. Whitefish Lake
104. Whitefish River
105. Whitesand
106. Wikwemikong

QUEBEC

107. Pikogan*

MANITOBA

108. Berens River
109. Brokenhead
110. Buffalo Point
111. Crane River
112. Dauphin River
113. Dog Creek
114. Ebb and Flow
115. Fairford
116. Fisher River
117. Fort Alexander
118. Gambler
119. Hollow Water
120. Indian Birch*
121. Jackhead
122. Keeseekoowenin
123. Lake St. Martin
124. Little Black River
125. Little Grand Rapids
126. Little Saskatchewan
127. Long Plains
128. Peguis*
129. Pine Creek
130. Poplar River*
131. Rolling River
132. Roseau Rapids
133. Roseau River
134. St. Peters
135. Shoal Lake
136. Sandy Bay
137. Shoal River
138. Swan Lake
139. Valley River
140. Waterhen
141. Waywayseecappo (Lizard Point)

SASKATCHEWAN

142. Cote
143. Fishing Lake
144. Gordon*
145. Keeseekoose
146. Key
147. Kinistino
148. Muskowekwan
149. Nut Lake
150. Okanese*
151. Pasqua*
152. Saulteaux
153. White Bear*

ALBERTA

154. O'chiese

MONTANA

155. Rocky Boy

Map Sources: "Indian Land Areas," U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1987; "Close-Up Canada" series, National Geographic Society, 1978-80; Atlas of the North American Indian (Weldman), Facts of File, 1985; Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History (Tanner), U. of Okla. Press, 1987
Data Sources: World Almanac 1987; Britannica World Data 1989; World Book Encyclopedia 1987; Great Lakes Indian Fish & Wildlife Commission 1989.

POPULATION

According to World Book Encyclopedia up to 250,000 Anishinabe live in the U.S. and Canada. In 1988, 23 independent nations had an estimated population smaller than 250,000, including Iceland, Belize, Andorra, Brunei and the Bahamas. Of these, 13 countries have an estimated population under 100,000.

AREA

The Anishinabe reservations within the U.S. alone have a total area of over 1480 square miles, larger than the areas of 24 indpendent countries, including Singapore, Luxembourg, Bahrain, Barbados and Malta.

LAND CESSIONS

1807--SW Mich. treaty (with Saginaw)
1819--S. Mich. treaties (with Saginaw/Ottawa)
1820--Sault St. Marie treaty, Mich.
1837--Lake Superior "copper treaty", Wisc./Minn.
1842--Lake Superior "timber treaty", Wisc./Mich.
1847--Lake Superior/Miss./Pillager treaties, Minn.
1854--Lake Superior/Mississippi/Pillager/ Lk. Winnibigoshish treaties, Minn.
1862--Red Lake/Pembina treaties, Minn; Manitoulin Island treaty, Ont. (with Ottawa)
1865--Bois Forte treaty, Minn.
1871--Treaties #1 and #2, Man. (with Cree)
1873--Treaty #3, Ont./Man.
1874--Treaty #4, Man./Sask. (with Cree, Assiniboine)
1875--Treaty #5, N. Man. (with Cree)
1905--Treaty #9, N. Ont. (with Cree)
1906--Treaty #10, N. Sask. (with Chipewyan)
1923--Williams Treaty, S. Ont.

This is only a partial map of Anishinabe lands.

The Anishinabe Nation

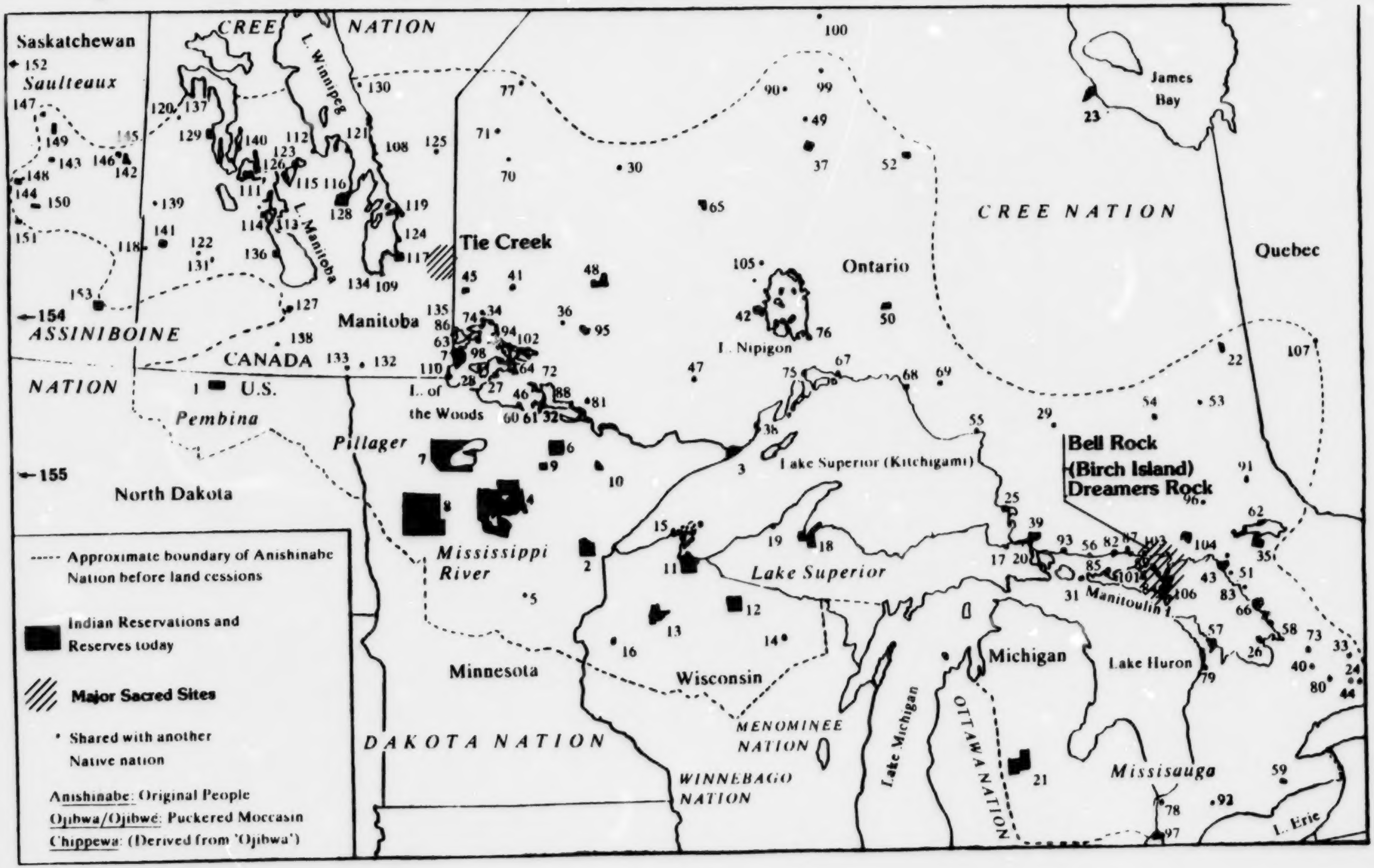

Saskatchewan
Saulteaux
CREE NATION
L. Winnipeg
L. Manitoba
Manitoba
ASSINIBOINE NATION
CANADA
U.S.
Pembina
North Dakota
Tie Creek
L. of the Woods
Pillager
Mississippi River
Minnesota
DAKOTA NATION
Ontario
L. Nipigon
CREE NATION
James Bay
Quebec
Lake Superior (Kitchigami)
Lake Superior
Wisconsin
MENOMINEE NATION
WINNEBAGO NATION
Lake Michigan
Michigan
OTTAWA NATION
Bell Rock
(Birch Island)
Dreamers Rock
Manitoulin I.
Lake Huron
Missisauga
L. Erie
152
147
149
143
148
144
150
151
145
146
142
120
137
129
140
123
126
112
121
130
139
141
122
131
118
153
154
155
111
115
116
114
113
136
128
119
124
117
108
125
127
138
133
132
134
109
135
86
63
7
110
1
77
71
70
30
65
45
41
48
74
34
94
102
98
28
27
64
72
36
95
46
88
81
60
61
32
6
9
10
7
8
4
2
5
100
90
99
49
37
52
105
42
76
50
47
75
67
68
69
55
29
54
53
22
107
38
3
25
39
93
56
82
87
103
104
62
35
91
96
17
20
85
101
31
106
43
51
83
66
58
73
33
24
44
40
80
57
26
79
15
11
19
18
12
13
14
16
21
59
92
78
97
23
----- Approximate boundary of Anishinabe Nation before land cessions
Indian Reservations and Reserves today
Major Sacred Sites
• Shared with another Native nation
Anishinabe: Original People
Ojibwa/Ojibwé: Puckered Moccasin
Chippewa: (Derived from 'Ojibwa')

Figure 3. The Anishinabe Nation.

our tribe. There are an estimated 250,000 Anishinabe people located in the area shown on Figure 3. They range from the O'Chiese Band in Alberta and the Rocky Boy Band in Montana on the west, to the Pikogan Band in Quebec and the Isabella Band in Michigan on the east. Contrary to today's locations of various tribes in reservations, the people of "Turtle Island" (North America) constantly migrated as tribal strength increased or ebbed. Other factors such as food supply, outbreaks of war or the establishment of peace treaties between tribes also contributed to these migrations.

The present locations of various tribes is not as it was prior to the arrival of the non-Native people. It is recorded in the history of Anishinabe that in the last migration of our people, we came from the East. The reason that migrations are important to the reader's understanding of our study is that although our people migrated from the East, we no doubt earlier in our history also migrated in other directions. We, Anishinabe, have information on the sites, and some of that information is contained in this study. The Mohawks of New York and other tribes in many parts of North America will also have information or teachings on this area.

BACKGROUND OF THE THREE FIRES SOCIETY

In the sixteenth century, three nations aligned themselves in a spiritual confederacy. The Ottawa, Potawatomi, and the Ojibway were those three nations. It came to be known as the Confederacy of the Three Fires, or, today, as the Three Fires Society. As recorded in numerous historical documents, Native people suffered a great deal for practising their religious beliefs and much of the information and teaching went underground. The Midewewin was one of the most secret and closed of those societies. Only a relatively few continued to practice their religious beliefs over the centuries of harsh treatment. Many of the original teachings were hard to recover, and many of the people who do hold that information are generally reluctant to give it to just anybody. Such information must be earned, and Elders want to know how you use it, and what your attitude is.

Starting in the late 1960s, and definitely emerging in the early 1970s, young people of the Ojibway, Potawatomi and Ottawa began the rekindling of a responsibility to rebuild the spiritual base for their people. For two decades, young people began to search for an identity that they knew existed somehow, somewhere, by searching, participating, and working with Elders. They had to earn the right to hear many untold stories. Thus began the reformation of what is now known as the Three Fires Society Inc., an international organization with a large membership of respected Elders and followers of the Midewewin.

The information contained in this study is not limited to six months of research; it is based on the life work and teachings of many dedicated "people of the Midewewin".

The conclusions and recommendations contained in this study are based on that lifetime understanding of the Native perspective.

ONE

ANISHINABE UNDERSTANDING OF THE PETROFORMS

> "Even though we (Anishinabe) have lost a lot,
> we have not lost as much as our white brothers."
>
> Dave Courchene, Jr. 1989

Our Understanding

The petroforms were built by spirits; it is a teaching place for many nations where various tribes were instructed. The Midewewin teaches us that the Original Anishinabe (Waynaboozhoo) was lowered from the sky. We believe that this place is where he was lowered to the ground and where he received his instructions from the Creator.

In our language, this place is called **Manito Ahbee** (where God sits). It is the reason why this province is called Manitoba, because Anishinabe identified these lands by the name given to the petroform sites.

Manito Ahbee is the genesis of the Midewewin; before this place there was no Midewewin. Here Original Man received his instructions. For the Anishinabe, **this is our Garden of Eden.**

The instructions given to Original Man are "written in stone". These instructions are called teachings. In the Midewewin, there are seven sacred teachings and seven levels of understanding to each teaching. All that we are, all our understanding of the universe, originates in places like Manito Ahbee.

The Clan System

The petroforms contain teachings of the O-Do-I-Daym-I-Wan (Clan System) which defines the roles and responsibilities for the Anishinabe. The Anishinabe had a well organized and structured democratic government. The Clan System defined individual and collective rights and assigned responsibility to various clans. It is important to have at least an elementary knowledge of how the Clan System worked in order to understand what went on in Manito Ahbee.

Different clans had different responsibilities; for example, the Fish (Water) Clan were intellectuals, sometimes called "stargazers", and their major responsibility was the spiritual well-being of the people. The Fish Clan would have had more responsibility for what went on within the petroforms than any other clan. Each of the seven major clans have sub-clans; for example, the Snake is a sub-clan of the Fish Clan and the head of the Fish Clan is the Turtle.

The relationship (protocol) between clans was well defined and structured. The seat of government among the Anishinabe was the "lodge" and in the lodge the clans had very definite areas in which to sit. The significance of this is further explained in the later text. There are many boundaries within Manito Ahbee, because only certain people were allowed to perform ceremonies. There are very definite levels of importance and purpose to each of the petroforms. In the Midewewin, there are sixteen degrees, and each degree earned allowed the person to hear more of the sacred teachings.

The Midewewin is a society and not a clan. Its function was a set purpose in the same way that people organized the Warrior society for a specific purpose. The Midewewin was also known as the Grand Medicine Society, where only an elite who had earned the right to be included in certain ceremonies could participate. Only a select few ever crossed the boundaries in Manito Ahbee to attain the highest levels of understanding. There are seven teachings and seven levels of understanding to each teaching. Each of the sixteen degrees of the Midewewin gives recognition that a person has attained a level of understanding of the teaching. No one should ever claim to know all seven levels of the seven sacred teachings. Even those who are Elders, who have spent a lifetime in the pursuit of knowledge, claim they "learn more every day".

To understand the importance of the teachings at Manito Ahbee, remember that the Clan System was given by the spirits. Remember that this is the place where Anishinabe and many other tribes were given instructions, where they learned their concepts and understanding of the universe. It is rarely acknowledged how much of our present society is indebted to the philosophy and knowledge of the indigenous people of North America. For example, the United States Constitution has its basis in the Clan System. It has been documented in several university studies that the Chairman of the drafting committee, John Rutledge, read parts of the Six Nations' "Great Law of Peace" (the Clan System) to the committee and parts of the Constitution are "amazingly similar" to this twelve hundred year old Six Nations document.

Where it differs is that in the Clan System (as it was given to us) only women can raise (vote in) a chief. That ensured the leadership would always have to listen to the women and to prove that they had the good of the children in their minds and hearts. For non-Native people, the women in the United States only got the right to vote in the 1920s. In the Clan System, women had those rights and more **for over a thousand years**. Democracy is not a new concept for the indigenous people of North America. Where would we be without those concepts taught at Manito Ahbee? Where will we be if we lose the right to receive further instructions, **if we lose access to Manito Ahbee?**

There are over 250,000 Anishinabe people and as Figure 3 shows, the reservations they belong to are scattered over a wide area. Even among the Anishinabe, there are different versions or interpretations of the petroforms, not to mention the many other tribes that were instructed at Manito Ahbee. In the Midewewin there is however a tradition of respect for the way it was given to other people. The bottom line for our people is that we must respect the ceremonies and understandings that other people have. For us, this is the way it was given, this is our understanding.

One of the most important recordings of the Midewewin Teaching was the publication of **The Mishomis Book** by Eddie Benton-Banai. The teachings contained in his book came primarily from the Wisconsin area, where the Anishinabe people maintained a great deal of the Midewewin. A review of this book would indicate a lack of the Christian influence so prevalent in some other books on the Midewewin.

Chapter 10 of this book describes the Clan System and its functions. In order for the reader to understand the Clan System better, permission was granted by Mr. Banai to reprint the entire chapter on the following pages. It is reprinted with sincere respect for Mr. Banai's understanding and the way it was given to the Anishinabe of Wisconsin. Reading the entire **Mishomis Book** would give other insights on the Midewewin and its teachings for those who wish to learn more.

The Clan System

In our last chapter we learned how the first Midewiwin ceremony came into being. We learned how the Waterdrum came to the people. The Midewiwin religion taught the people how to use the powers of the Spirit World to treat their sicknesses. The Midewiwin gave the people a sense of spiritual strength to be balanced with its twin — the physical side of life. The people were no longer frail and began to live longer.

But the Creator remembered how the Earth's people had suffered in the past. He decided that the Earth's second people needed a system — a framework of government to give them strength and order. To do this he gave them the O-do-i-daym-i-wan′ (Clan System).

There were seven original o-do-i-daym′-i-wug′ (clans):

Ah-ji-jawk′ (Crane)

Mahng (Loon)

Gi-goon′ (Fish)

Mu-kwa′ (Bear)

Wa-bi-zha-shi′ (Martin)

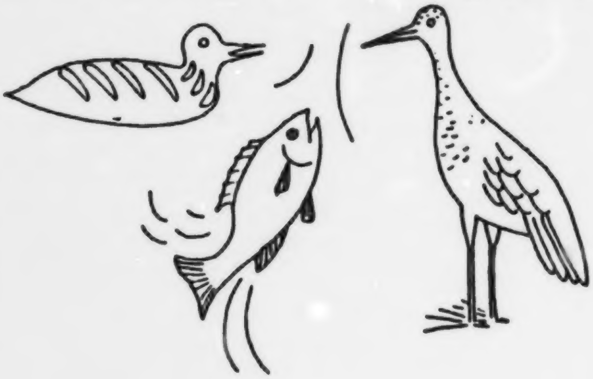
Wa-wa-shesh′-she (Deer)

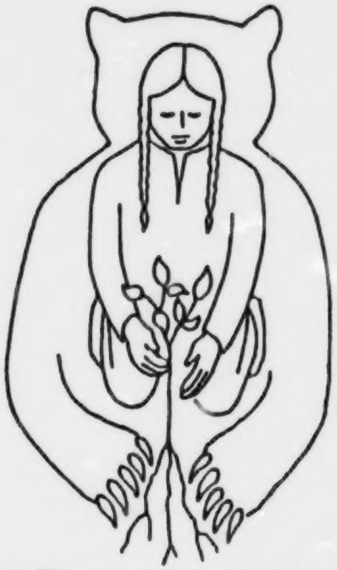
Be-nays′ (Bird)

Each of these clans was given a function to serve for the people.

The Crane and the Loon Clans were given the power of chieftanship. They were given the people with natural qualities and abilities for leadership. Each of these two clans claim to be the original Chief Clan. They were both given the respect of chieftanship. By working together the Crane Clan and the Loon Clan gave the people a balanced government with each serving as a check on the other.

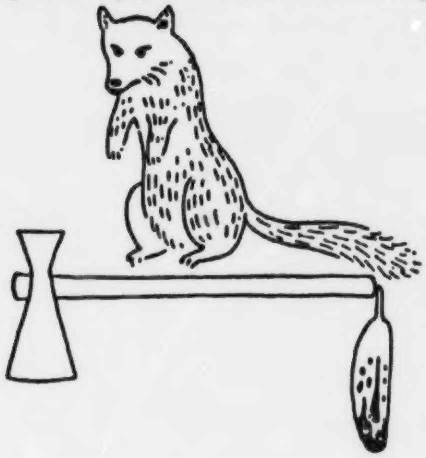
Between the two Chief Clans stood the Fish Clan. It was sometimes referred to as the Water Clan. The Fish Clan was made up of the intellectuals of the people. They were sometimes called "star gazers," since they were known for their constant pursuit of meditation and philosophy. The Fish Clan members would settle disputes between the two Chief Clans if a deciding vote needed to be cast. This built-in ability of the Clan System to resolve differences of opinion greatly added to its effectiveness as a governing body.



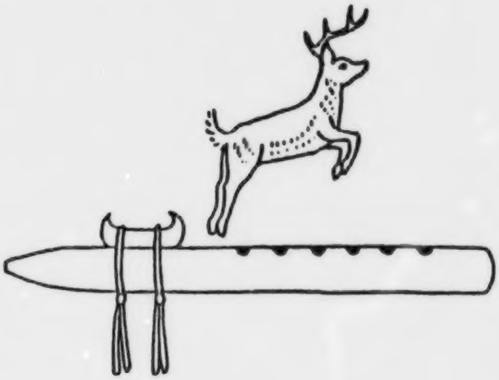


The Bear Clan served as the police force of the people. They spent most of their time patrolling the outskirts of the village so as to ward off any unwelcome visitors. Because of the large amount of time they spent close to nature, the Bear Clan became known for their knowledge of plants whose roots, bark, or leaves could be used as medicines to treat the ailments of their people.

The Martin Clan served as the warrior clan for the people. They provided the force to protect the village at all costs from outside invaders. They became known as master strategists in planning the defense of their people.



The Deer Clan was known as the clan of gentle people. They were the pacifists. It was said that the people of the Deer Clan would not even indulge in using harsh words of any kind. They were the poets of the people.



There are those who say that it was the moose and not the deer who was the leader of this clan. Others in the northern regions of this hemisphere claim that it was the carribou who was the clan head. Eventually all the clans diffused out into different divisions, but always one animal represented the head or king of the clan. The turtle, for instance, was the head of the Fish Clan.

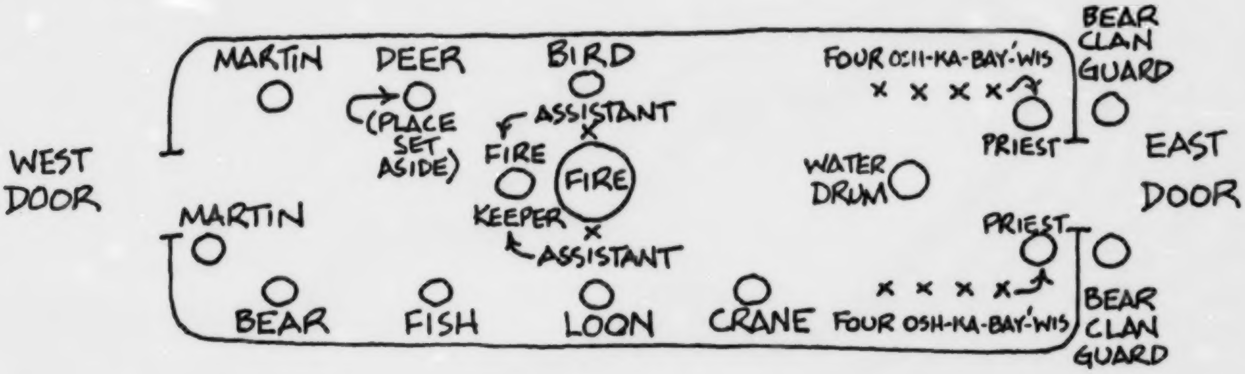
The Bird Clan was the final clan and represented the spiritual leaders of the people. Its members were noted for their intuition and sense of knowledge of what the future would bring. They were said to have the characteristics of the eagle, the head of their clan, in that they pursued the higher elevations of the mind just as the eagle pursued the higher elevations of the sky.

So the Creator gave the people the seven original clans to provide leadership in all areas. One of the natural laws that the Creator gave the people along with the Clan System was that there was to be no intermarriage of people in the same clan. In this way the blood of the Earth's second people would be kept pure and strong.

It is said that the people of the Deer Clan once violated this natural law and began marrying within their clan. The Deer Clan people were sent warnings. Their children started to be born with defects and abnormalities. They made no correction in their ways. Finally, the Creator was so disturbed by this departure from the way of harmony that he destroyed the Deer Clan in its entirity. For this reason there are no members of the Deer Clan among the Ojibway people today.

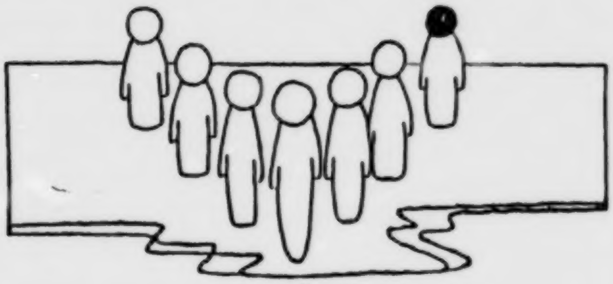
The Clan System became an important part of the Midewiwin Lodge. Each of the clans was given a function and place in the Midewiwin. All the clans were held together by the force of the Waterdrum.

It was the responsibility of the Bear Clan to guard the doorway of the Midewiwin Lodge. Inside the lodge, the clans would take their positions in the order that was given to them by the Creator:


WEST DOOR
MARTIN
DEER
(PLACE SET ASIDE)
BIRD
ASSISTANT
FIRE
FIRE KEEPER
FIRE
ASSISTANT
FOUR OSH-KA-BAY'-WIS
BEAR CLAN GUARD
PRIEST
WATER DRUM
EAST DOOR
MARTIN
PRIEST
BEAR
FISH
LOON
CRANE
FOUR OSH-KA-BAY'-WIS
BEAR CLAN GUARD

THIS IS THE MIDEWEWIN LODGE WHERE EVERY CLAN HAD A PLACE TO SIT AND EACH HAD DIFFERENT RESPONSIBILITIES. AS IN THE LODGE, MANITO AHBEE WOULD HAVE HAD A SIMILAR RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CLANS AND WOULD HAVE BEEN SET UP AS SUCH.

After the Clan System was given to the people, the Seven Grandfathers sent seven spiritual beings to Earth to clarify how the Clan System was to be used and to amplify the meaning of many gifts often taken for granted in life. The beings came to the people out of the water. They brought many teachings meant to sharpen the senses of the people. It is said that the first five beings brought messages pertaining to the five senses of man: touch, smell, taste, hearing, and sight. The sixth being brought teachings about ah-mun'-ni-soo-win' (intuition)—a special sense that goes beyond the ordinary senses. It was a special sense that few people recognize in their lives.



When the people looked to the seventh being to see what gift it was that he brought to them, they saw that his eyes were covered by a blind.

The people asked the seventh being, "Why do you hide your eyes from us! What have you brought us?"

The being answered, "What I have to give, you may not be ready for!"

The people insisted that the seventh being uncover his eyes. When he lifted the blind from his face there were shrieks and screams from the people. All those who saw his eyes fell over dead.

The seventh being turned and walked back into the water but he shouted to the people that he would return when the proper time came, if it ever came.

Many people have speculated as to what gift it was that the seventh being brought. Most agree that it was the ability to see into the future (nee-goni-wa'-bun-gi-gay-win'). The people may yet see the seventh being return with this gift for everybody if the time is made right.

While the Clan System was in power, the Ojibway suffered no famine, sickness, or epidemics. There was said to be no wars and very little violence in these days when the Clan System was strong. In the Clan System was built equal justice, voice, law and order. It reinforced by its very nature the teachings and principles of a sacred way of life.

It is interesting to think of where our society might be today if the people had held the Clan System together in its original form and power.

Linkages And Relationships Among Sites

The presence of many different turtles and similar petroforms has left many anthropologists and archaeologists wondering about the relationships and linkages among sites. Manito Ahbee is a teaching place, and one of the needs that Anishinabe had was to be able to heal the sick. People went there to get healed, whether it was a spiritual, physical or emotional sickness, anything we need the Earth provides for us. Manito Ahbee has a spiritual energy where we can feel the spirit of our bodies being healed. The earth has "energy points" where it is easier to conduct healings. The healings that went on in Manito Ahbee were conducted by many levels of "doctors". It is the same as the difference between intensive care and outpatient care (brain surgery/heart transplants and stitching up a minor wound). There are many levels and boundaries in Manito Ahbee.

In modern times, we build our churches where we live. When we feel the need, many of us will travel (make a pilgrimage) to the sacred places where our ancestors prayed. Before most of us make a pilgrimage of a life-time, we usually prepare ourselves. If you are entering a building where there is something of great value, there will no doubt be guards and they will ask you what business you have in this place. If you don't have the right answer, or the right authority, you will not be allowed to go in. The guard must have enough knowledge and common sense to know who is lying and who is not, who is prepared and who is not. In the Clan System, different clans had different responsibilities. The Bear Clan were the guards; they spent their time on the outside of the village ensuring the safety of the people.

Manito Ahbee is connected to many other places in the earth. There are many other places like the medicine wheel, the pyramids, etc., where the spirits taught our ancestors, and other nations. The spirits left physical reminders of the teachings at these places. The places that were chosen by the spirits are not random; they are the physical markers that remind us of which doorway we are at. Manito Ahbee is a spiritual doorway to another level of understanding. Those who live in a physical world cannot understand this and that is why the Elders refuse to talk about these things. There is only so much that can be said without losing our credibility. We have no desire to be ridiculed.

Spiritual Learning Centres

Following the conquest of Central American civilizations by the Spanish, whole libraries of information on the Mayans and the Aztecs were destroyed deliberately by Roman Catholic priests. It was felt that the concepts and ideology of the people was "an affront to God!" In hindsight, it is easy to marvel at the closed-mindedness of the priests and to feel a sense of loss, given the achievements of these civilizations. Unfortunately, we still have to deal with closed minds, and we must try to look beyond our physical world to really understand the purpose of the petroform sites.

Recurring over and over again in the interviews and generally the teachings is the idea of "spirits" interacting with the people. This is not an isolated concept; it is found in some form in every culture world-wide. It has been stated that the area was constructed by the spirits and that it was meant to be seen from the air. **In fact, Anishinabe are not taking credit for its construction, and if they had anything to do with it, it would be at the bidding of the "spirits".**

Eddy Benton-Banai and other Elders have stated that, at some time, the spirits left, promising to come back. This is a message also echoed by the Aztecs who mistook the "white people" as the returning "gods". From extensive information on other people's interactions with "spirits" or "beings", and from bits and pieces of information drawn from Elders, we can draw one conclusion that seems to stretch the imagination to the breaking point.

In talking about stretching the imagination, we are concerned about how much information we can provide without hurting our credibility. How ready are people to receive knowledge that many who live in a physical world will label fantasy, or worse? There is much that people are not ready for. It has been stated that some of the petroform sites are for future generations. The best explanation for the petroform sites and other sites (pyramids, etc.) is that they are **teaching places, doorways to other worlds, and physical reminders of the instructions given to us**. These doorways open and close for some unknown reason. These are teaching places, where our ancestors were taught by "spirits", and where we (when we are ready) will receive further instructions.

We are not yet ready and, like a child, we are limited in how much we can learn at any given time.

Some of these sites are like tools used to teach a child a lesson; once the lesson is learned, the tool is put aside until it is needed again.

Many different nations were given instructions at Manito Ahbee, and were "prepared", in different ways, to develop certain abilities. It was not only Anishinabe who received instructions here; the Dakota will have instructions on this place, as well as other indigenous people.

Many times, Elders have told us not to take ourselves too seriously, that in a lot of ways, **we are like children, we have a long ways to go, we must enjoy the journey.**

Where we as Anishinabe differ from the non-Native people is that we firmly believe that the rock is a form of life, perhaps not as we know life, but it is alive; it has a life force. If we don't know that, how can we recognize the other forms of life the universe will reveal to us? Rock has energy, a spirit; we use certain sizes and types of rock in the Sweat Lodge, and some of the rocks at Tie Creek will show evidence of having been heated up for a ceremony. Rocks grow, live, and sometimes die. In the Sweat Lodge, the heated-up rocks are brought in and are greeted as "Grandfather".

Our beings are made up of three distinct parts: Mind, Body and Spirit. All kinds of money is designated for schools to take care of our minds. For our bodies, there are hospitals, and medical care is extremely expensive. But what of our spirits? How much care do we take of these needs? Where does most sickness come from but our minds? Our minds are the windows to our spirits. Much of our physical illness can be traced to our neglect of our spiritual needs.

In countless western movies, the medicine man was a subject of ridicule. In fact, the medicine man was a doctor, a psychologist, and a minister, all rolled into one. Since there was no understanding that in order to heal a human one must treat the whole being, the movie stereotype was very inaccurate, and a cause of confusion regarding the role of the medicine man.

The teachings at Manito Ahbee are needed, not just by Native people, but by all people. There is still much to be learned in Manito Ahbee, and we will be taught if and when we are ready.

There is not much more that we can tell you about this because it is not necessary for this study to know all the teachings in depth. It is enough that Manito Ahbee is important to many people. We will, however, give some of our own interpretations of individual petroform sites in the next section. These are based on the information we have gathered, but it is important to realize that these are not the only interpretations. There are other versions that other indigenous people will have that can be given equal respect. **The key is respect**; this is how it was given to us, this is our understanding.

UNITED TRIBES

INTERPRETATIONS
OF
INDIVIDUAL
PETROFORM SITES

In the following pages we present drawings and interpretations of some individual petroform sites. Additional drawings and photographs of other petroform sites are provided in Appendix C.

The Ghost Lodge

"Shaking Tent"

The feature shown on Figure 4 has to do with the Shaking Tent ceremony, which in turn also takes in part of the Ghost Lodge, or "Spirit Ceremony". According to Elders who have gone into the area and performed ceremonies, this is their interpretation of this particular petroform; however, we have not been given the exact reasons for this interpretation. Again the time frame and limitations kept us from getting more details.

The Shaking Tent (Lodge) ceremony can be used by our people for spiritual, physical, mental and emotional healing. The Lodge provides knowledge and direction to people who request healing or help. The Lodge provides answers to people who seek to know whether relatives and friends whom they lost track of are alive or deceased and where they are. The Lodge could (would) provide people with a work/task to make amends to the Great Spirit. This work/task would provide spiritual fulfilment for the person(s) requesting help. This Lodge could find Anishinabe people who are lost, alive or deceased.

The Lodge provides protection for those who feel threatened by evil and sickness. This Lodge provides a way by which people can live long, fruitful and balanced lives. This work in the Shaking Tent (Lodge) is very time-consuming, requiring much concentration and discipline. It may require people to go to work and attend to the ceremony any time during the day or night. One healing may require several nights' work depending on the severity of illness.

This Lodge treats all illnesses, including cancer and diabetes, and the list of treatments may be enlarged as the requests keep coming to the Lodge. When our people become confused about right and wrong ways, they approach a leader to seek spiritual direction. The spirits of the Lodge will provide information to the people who wish to have their work instruction clarified.

The different kinds of work the people have to do becomes clearer, and their faith and confidence in their purpose becomes stronger. Most sickness comes from the mind; it starts when we feel negative thoughts, and we feel alone. Belief that there is a Creator who cares for us is essential to good health. For example, alcoholism is a spiritual sickness; it is stopped when the person believes that the Creator will help him/her. The treatment for alcoholism is spiritual growth.

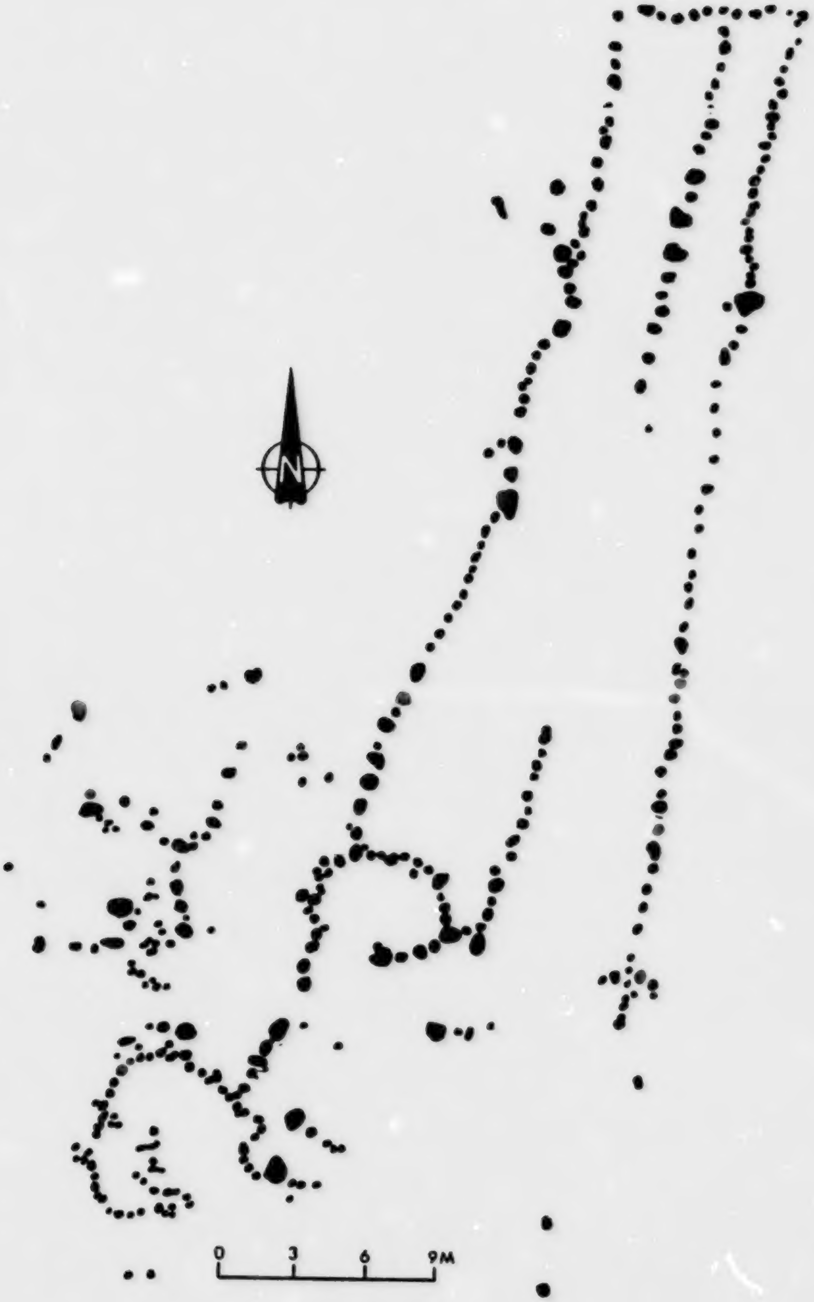


Figure 4. Ghost Lodge (Shaking Tent), Tie Creek Site, Whiteshell Park.

Immortality

The feature shown in Figure 5 has to do with a teaching, or a legend that has a meaning for all our people. There is a legend that one of the Anishinabe people asked Waynaboozhoo (who is both good and evil, both man and spirit) for everlasting life. This person wanted immortality, so Waynaboozhoo turned him into a rock. **We must be careful what we wish for.**

Although this may sound simple, this is a hard lesson to learn. The teachings are at times simple, but most people will not learn those important simple lessons.

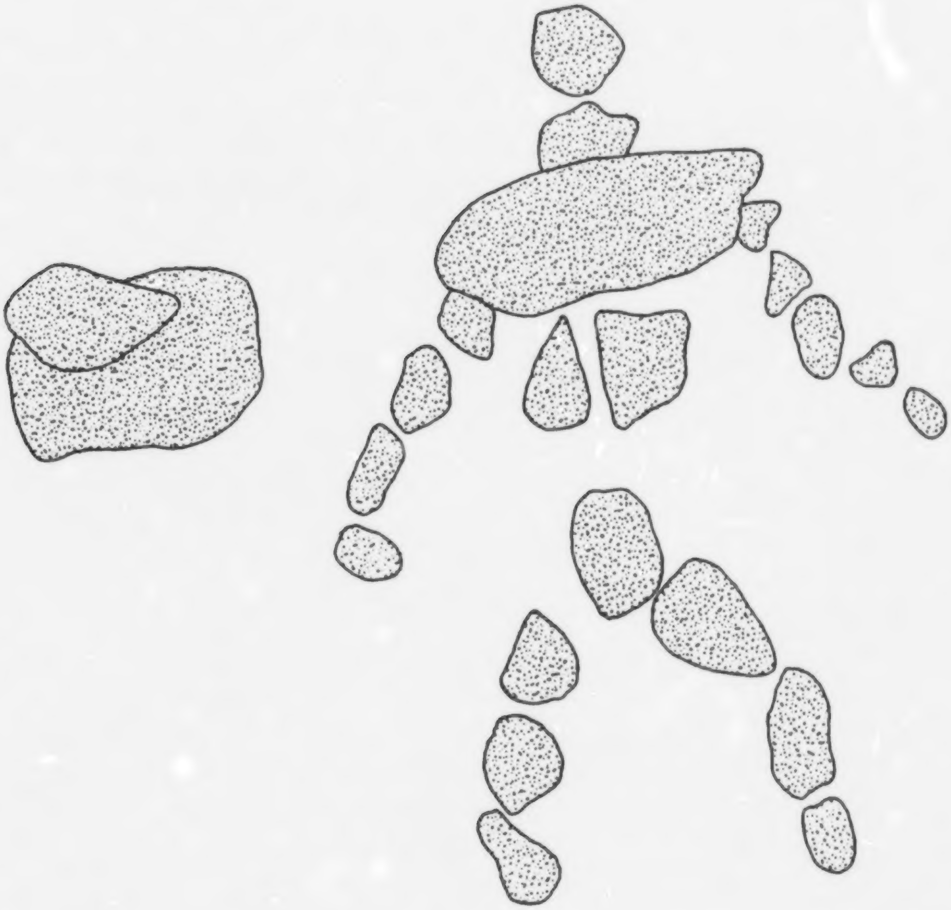


Figure 5. Human Effigy Figure, Bannock Point, Whiteshell Provincial Park, Manitoba.

The Sweat Lodge

The feature shown on Figure 6 has to do with the Sweat Lodge. Eddie Benton-Banai was very definite that this feature was related to the Creator teaching Waynaboozhoo about the Sweat Lodge Ceremony. *"This is Waynaboozhoo's Sweat Lodge."*

In the Midewewin, the Sweat Lodge is very important. The history of how the Anishinabe received the Sweat Lodge is in itself a teaching. The Sweat Lodge was given to a boy who travelled to the dark side of the moon and met with the seven Grandfathers. It was given to Anishinabe as a means of purifying the mind and body. The "sweat" must be conducted in accordance with a proper understanding. For those who participate, it can be a very powerful experience. When one is finished in the Sweat Lodge, *"the eastern doorway is opened and a person crawls humbly out into the world, it is like being born anew."*

The Sweat Lodge by itself can "cure" some sicknesses, but it is primarily a purification rite that is a first step to other ceremonies. In order to enter into a right frame of mind, one must be prepared, purified, and ready to sacrifice before one is allowed to learn in other ceremonies. The Sweat Lodge was built for man because he needed purification, whereas woman was given a natural purification method.

Women in their moon are considered to be very powerful spiritually, and are not allowed near most ceremonies. It would be dangerous for those conducting or participating in the ceremonies to breach this law.

Although we cannot go into more detail on that teaching at this time, it would be important for those who wish to participate to know more of this ceremony and how it is to be used.

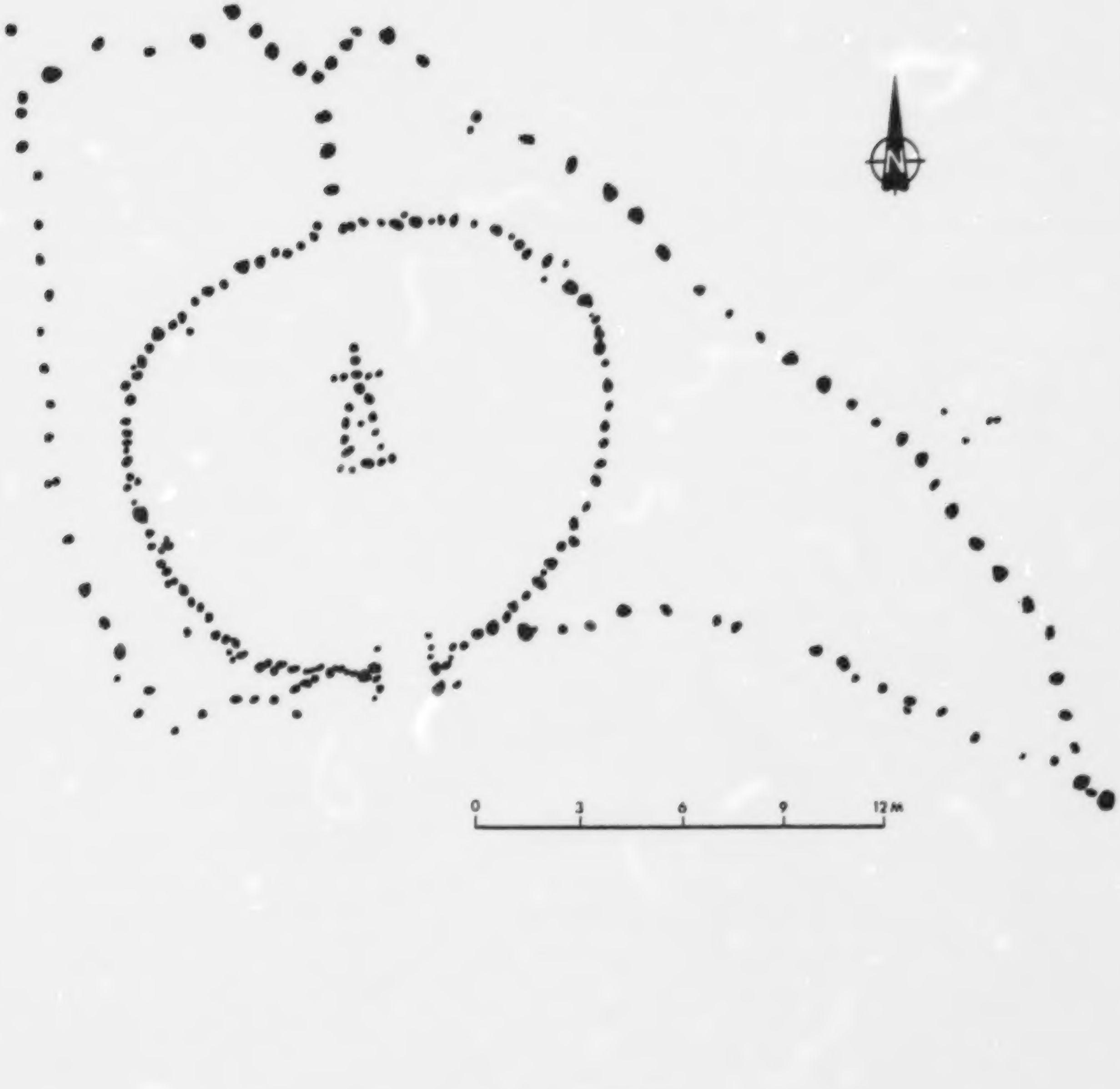


Figure 6. Sweat Lodge Feature, Tie Creek Site, Whiteshell Provincial Park.

Birch Bark Scrolls

The feature shown in Figure 7 is a scroll teaching about the choice of lifestyle that the human being takes. Many of the Anishinabe ceremonies and concepts were recorded on birch bark, now called scrolls.

There are rocks on both sides for us to continue to build upon those paths that we choose. The paths we take are necessarily different. There is a path for the white man and there is a path for us. You cannot take the path in between for it ends quickly and death awaits your spirit.

At some time in the future, the two paths will come together, but we are not there yet.

This teaching is about choice. The Creator allows us to choose.

The individual degrees of a teaching may be listened to several times, and each time it is heard, new and more understanding is given to those who hear the teaching.

It takes time to reprogram our minds to understand these teachings. To hear these teachings told for the first time, your understanding will be limited to the first level. Upon hearing them again, you will understand more.

It is often said that even if the petroforms are damaged or disturbed, there will exist somewhere a birch bark scroll that will show how and what this site was used for. If the Anishinabe have access, this place will be as it was.

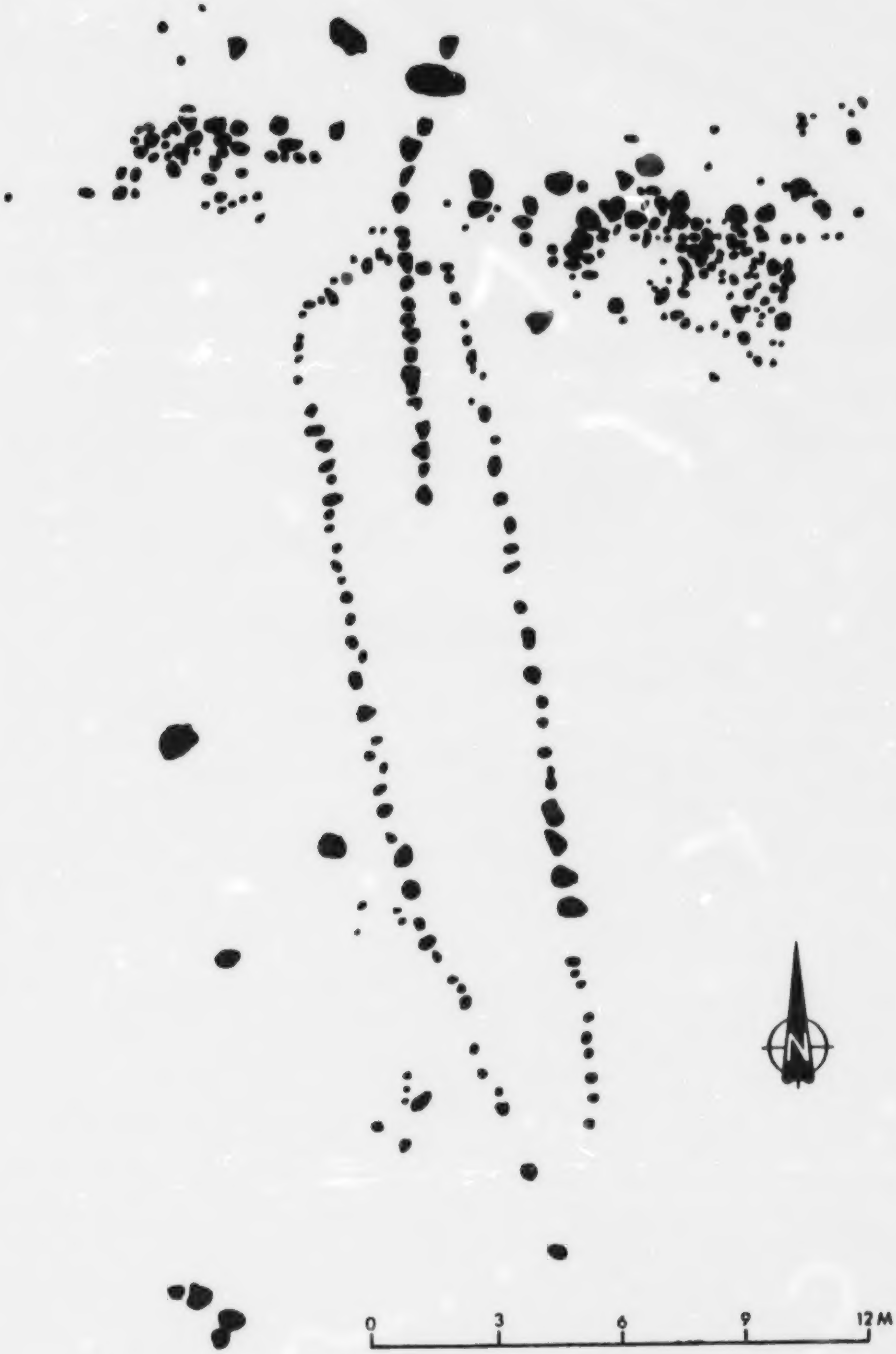


Figure 7. Birch Bark Scroll Feature, Tie Creek Site.

Bannock Point Turtle and Snake Petroform

The Feature shown on Figure 8 shows the Bannock Point turtle and snake petroform.

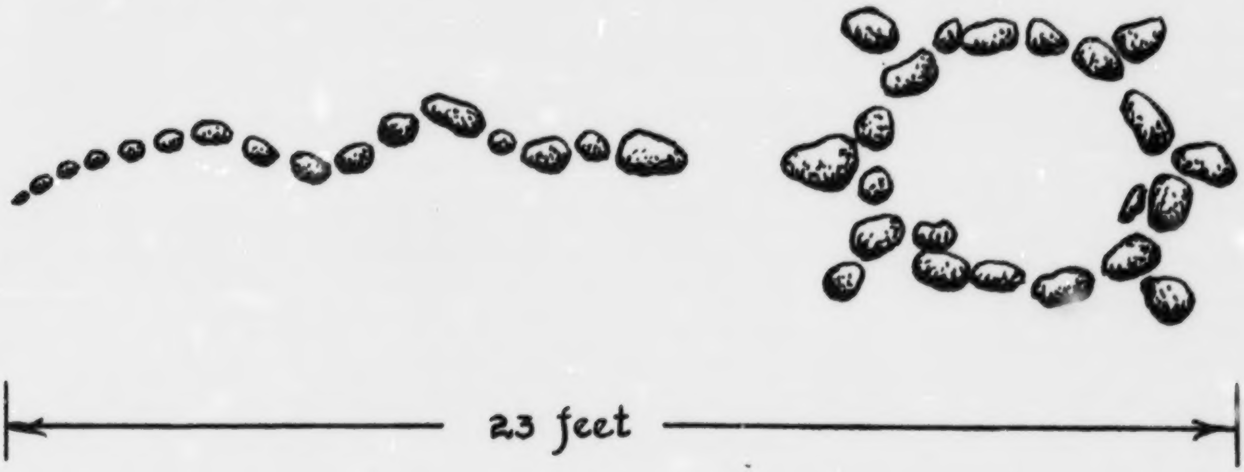


Figure 8. Turtle and Snake Petroform, Bannock Point, Whiteshell Provincial Park.

In **"Great Leader of the Ojibway", "Mis-quona-queb"** by James Redsky and James R. Stevens, 1972, the recording of the death of a great leader, Neta-mequan, and subsequent instructions made to the departed give meaning to the petroform of the snake and turtle.

"O, loving brother, listen unto what I tell thee. Follow the straight path that now lies before you. You will travel so fast your ears will whine and then suddenly you will stop. There, Neta-mequan, you will see an Indian sitting. He will speak softly, 'Grandchild, come this way, I will take you to a place where you will enjoy the everlasting life.' Don't listen to him, Neta-mequan. This is the evil spirit, Nene-Bush! Tell him you will not go, that you must be on your way.

When you have started travelling again you will journey quickly over a long distance. Again you will suddenly stop. Here a woman will call and she will give you a large tasty strawberry. She will tell you to eat it. Neta-mequan, you will eat it and you will be relieved from the fatigue of your journey.

Then you will be on your way again and after a while someone will say to you, 'Get on my back, Neta-mequan.'

This will be the voice of a great snake. It will carry you down to the edge of a river which flows with white water and treacherous currents. Across the river beat the drums from the land where you will reside eventually.

The snake will disappear and Kitchi-mikikinuk, a giant turtle, will speak to you.

'I have the power to take you across, Neta-mequan. Get on my back.

In the twinkle of an eye you will be across and your journey will be over. Everyone will be happy and full of joy. The head man will call out, 'Neta-mequan is here.' The drumming will silence and all your old friends will gather around you. You will see your father and mother, sisters and brothers, grandparents and great-grandparents. All of your relatives will be there."

In 1855, Chief Seattle made the following statement:

> *"The white man will never be alone. Let him be just and deal kindly with my people, for the dead are not altogether powerless. Dead, did I say? There is no death, only a change of worlds."*

Chief Seattle's people resided in Washington State on the west coast, yet his concepts (and teachings) are consistent with what our people have stated all along. What our people have said, what we have given as our understanding, has been consistent over many, many years.

In the petroforms are the teachings, from there we have been given our understanding of the universe. Death is a part of life, so it is not unrealistic to believe that there would be lessons on our understanding of death in Manito Ahbee.

Death is a doorway, as the instruction to Neta-mequan stated: "Follow the straight path that now lies before you. You will travel so fast your ears will whine and suddenly you will stop." Some other cultures carry similar messages, for example, the Tibetan Book of the Dead, which is now starting to receive some credibility in "Western" cultures. The Midewewin has had much of this similar knowledge but because of past "affronts to God" attitudes, some information we cannot release in this study. Some of the information has to be "earned". We have given interpretations on specific sites, but, as we have been advised, it must also be remembered that many sites were disturbed by people, snowmobiles, timber cutting, and some were "bulldozed". As a result, some sites are no longer as they were.

In the origin of Anishinabe teachings, the Midewewin version is that Original Man was lowered from the sky. We were placed on this earth. Original Man had a father, mother, grandmother, etc. but he is considered the first man on "Turtle Island". North America is called Turtle Island because the teachings have it that after the Great Flood, the Earth (North America) was built on the back of a turtle. **We are a second chance people, and the original Midewewin was given to us to guide us not to make the same mistakes again.** These sites, therefore, provide direction for all future generations, as well as the current one, to honour the messages/teachings symbolized in the petroforms. Manito Ahbee has value for the future.

OTHER USES OF THE AREA

One of the objectives of the study was to identify Native use of the area for such activities as berry picking, medicine gathering, ceremonial use, etc. We were unable to compile detailed information on the use of the area or identify a great number of Native people currently using it extensively. This is not to say that the area is not of significance to Native people, nor that the area is not being used; rather, it indicates we did not find extensive use of the area "at this time". A few possible mitigating reasons for this apparent lack of use are elaborated upon below.

Part of the reason that this area is not being used is accessibility since the area is remote.

Another is the existence of park rules and regulations which inadvertently discourage Native people from using the area in several ways. Provincial park rules and regulations, which are well intended to protect the park from uncontrolled activities, nonetheless are having a detrimental effect on the use of the area by Native people. Dave Courchene Jr., for example, told us of an instance when a group went to the park intending to go to the site (see Appendix A). After paying the required camping fees, there was no money left over for food and the group dispersed.

Other park regulations that have some bearing on Native people's use of the area include the need for various formal approvals or permits for, or outright prohibition of, such activities as fires, group use, camping, use of horses, leaving behind objects (considered as defacing park land), removal of any object from parks except wild fruits and berries, etc.

Although these regulations are not in themselves unreasonable, and, of course, are enacted to meet a need, the very fact that there is an authority to which Native people must report when using an area is in itself a deterrent. Native people in their ceremonies will maintain an open fire for four days and nights. Also, cloth offerings are generally left in trees; these could be considered as littering by some officers. The gathering of firewood, or medicines that are not fruits or berries would also violate a regulation. Camping fees, of course, as indicated above also act as a deterrent, especially when funds are limited.

George Courchene mentioned that he used to go ricing in the area with other people from the Kenora area. He also indicated that three bands were in the Manito Ahbee area originally, but that they were relocated or "chased off" by the authorities some time after the signing of the treaties.

Several interviewees also mentioned that some people regularly gather medicine in the area, some from as far away as South Dakota. There was no mention of berry picking, but that may only be due to the constraints on the length of interviews and an attempt to concentrate on gathering of information on the petroform sites. Other activities such as hunting were mentioned but were not pursued in detail by the interviewers.

Generally, Native people have avoided publicizing the existence of the petroform sites as a method of protecting them, in the hope that if no one knows about them, nothing will happen to them. This has been the general approach by many other indigenous people world-wide. This is discussed in greater detail in Part 2 of this report, the commentary by Dr. Pettipas, which indicates that there generally has been intervention on the part of Native people only when a direct crisis or threat to an area looms. This also partly explains why we were unable to obtain information on other uses of the area.

THE INTERPRETIVE CENTRE

OBJECTIVE 5 of the study was to determine whether a proposed Interpretive Centre at Tie Creek was acceptable to Native people.

Parks Branch envisioned a multi-million dollar facility to be built within or near the Tie Creek Basin, the site of the largest concentration of petroforms. The petroforms would be used to attract tourists by building a world class interpretive centre to give the general public a better understanding of the petroforms and of Native culture in general. The Parks Branch was very concerned with the Native view on such a facility.

The Interpretive Centre concept is strongly supported by Native people, but not at the site. It was felt the sites are teaching places, sacred ceremonial grounds for use by Native people. However, there is a real need to have a world class Interpretive Centre. Every country recognizes that tourism is a real economic boon, but we in North America have failed to capitalize on the unique history and cultural teachings of the Native people. Tourism is an ever-expanding industry; it is renewable, and it contributes to a good trade balance. It can be labour intensive, given the proper format, and it contributes to a good international image.

Manitoba has one of the largest populations of Native people in North America; the Native people within the southern Manitoba region are part of the Plains "Indians", possibly the most widely recognized indigenous people of North America. Every weekend throughout the summer, there is a pow-wow within a 500 mile radius of Winnipeg. Language is still practised in some cases, and in the proper setting it could be used to add to the experience. There is a tremendous pool of talented professional singers and dancers, teachers, lecturers, Elders, artists and skilled Native craftsmen, etc. who can help make this a reality.

Folklorama is a proven success, but so far Native people have not had the required funding to present their culture in a "world class" setting. That is extremely unfortunate and a waste of a huge resource.

This project should not be carried out piecemeal; it is an exciting proposal, it has real economic potential, and it is an area where, given the proper attitude, Native and non-Native people can work together!

Elders strongly recommend that Manito Ahbee not be used for tourism. Tourism in the site area is not acceptable to many of our people. However, it has been suggested that an area (like Lone Island) could be used as an Interpretive Centre (teaching place) for Natives and non-Natives who are invited to the area. Manito Ahbee can then be used as a gathering place for us to relearn our spiritual teachings.

There can be another area closer to modern conveniences where the tourist centre could be built. The co-operation of many Native organizations would be assured if they were invited into a joint management arrangement. This has real economic potential and should be given serious consideration through an adequately funded study.

RECREATIONAL USE OF MANITO AHBEE

OBJECTIVE 6 of the study was to ascertain the compatibility of intensive or extensive recreational activities.

> **The message from the Elders and Natives in general was very clear. The petroforms should be preserved as a teaching place for Natives. Intensive recreational use and other similar tourist-related activities should be discouraged at this time in order to formulate an understanding between the province and Native people.**

Elders were very concerned with the lack of privacy which interfered with the proper conduct of their ceremonies. It was felt by all Elders that there needed to be an understanding - by way of a formal agreement - between the Province and the Native people which would allow Native people use of the area.

COMPATIBILITY OF RESOURCE EXTRACTION ACTIVITIES

OBJECTIVE 7 of the study was to compile information on the Native perception of the compatibility of industrial extraction activities at or near the petroform sites. **Specifically, granite quarrying is addressed in this study; however, our conclusions and concerns apply equally to timber (forestry) and all other resource extraction, although they are not specifically mentioned.**

The approach used to carry out this objective was first to meet the quarrying interests to determine their needs regarding the size and location of proposed sites. This information was then conveyed to Elders, and other interested Native people, to ascertain their position on resource extraction.

The contractors attended two meetings with quarrying interests, Canital Granite Ltd. of Winnipeg, and Cold Springs Granite (Canada) Ltd. of Minnesota. Both presentations were very professional, polite, and the information seemed very reasonable. The advantages of the granite within the Whiteshell are location, quality, colour and low development costs. Figure 9 shows the location of deposits in the study area. Amber granite is considered to be a currently marketable product. Other colours of granite are also present.

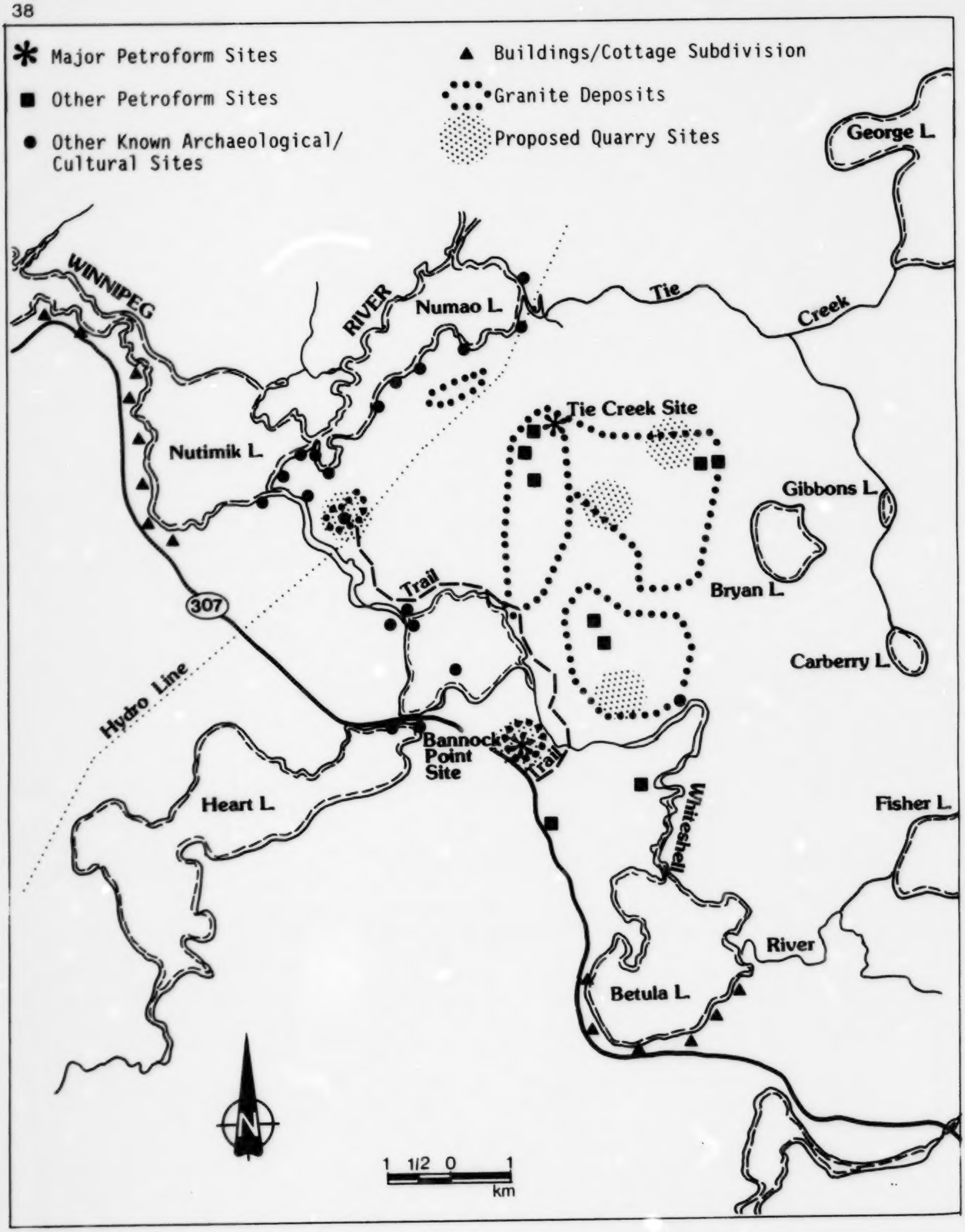

Major Petroform Sites
Other Petroform Sites
Other Known Archaeological/ Cultural Sites
Buildings/Cottage Subdivision
Granite Deposits
Proposed Quarry Sites
George L.
WINNIPEG
RIVER
Numao L.
Tie
Creek
Tie Creek Site
Nutimik L.
Gibbons L.
Trail
Bryan L.
307
Carberry L.
Hydro Line
Bannock Point Site
Trail
Heart L.
Whiteshell
Fisher L.
River
Betula L.
N
1 1/2 0 1
km

Figure 9. Granite deposits in the study area and their relationship to known petroforms, cultural and archaeological sites.

The actual quarrying sites would require only 10 acres; however, Canital did express that it required a license over a larger area in order that other granite companies would not (in the future) capitalize on their exploratory work. According to a Winnipeg Free Press article of May 5, 1989, Canital employed 16 people and sold three million dollars worth of granite tiles in 1988. Having their own quarry could "double" production, create 25 to 30 new jobs, generate revenue of 6 to 7 million dollars, and possibly bring new U.S. money into the Province.

Although the contractors were open-minded, and can see the value of job creation and the possibility of millions of new dollars coming into the Province, the question remains one of resource surrenders.

The message obtained from the Native people was very clear and unanimous. There is no support for resource extraction at or near the petroform sites. **The answer to quarrying and other resource extraction interests in the Whiteshell was a definite NO.**

To understand why the answer was so definite requires an examination of the relationship between Native and non-Native cultures from the Native people's perspective. We have attempted to put these perceptions into an understandable format which will hopefully bring about a respect for the position that the Native people are taking.

In order to do this, we have divided the concerns into three major considerations: "The Spiritual (Sacred) Value of Manito Ahbee", "The Relationship of Resource Extraction to Native People", and "The Larger Question of Land Ownership". Each is addressed below in a separate section.

The Spiritual (Sacred) Value Of Manito Ahbee

As indicated previously in the report, Manito Ahbee is the genesis of the Midewewin. Original Man was lowered to the ground here, and here is where he received his instructions from the Creator. Thus, for the Anishinabe, **this is our Garden of Eden.** Many other tribes were also given instructions here and here they, too, learned their concepts and understanding of the universe.

Manito Ahbee has a spiritual energy for us. We can feel the spirit of our bodies being healed.

Our informants indicated that many of these sites were disturbed in the past by a variety of causes and activities including people, snowmobiles timber cutting, and bulldozers. And, although some sites are no longer as they were, nevertheless, Manito Ahbee has value for the future. These sites provide direction for today and tomorrow, to honour the messages and teachings symbolized in the petroforms.

It is absolutely inconceivable that the Anishinabe people would have willingly given up these lands. It is more likely that the non-Native people who wrote the treaty documents failed to realize the importance that Anishinabe people placed on the land known as Manito Ahbee.

The Elders are not willing to neglect the spiritual needs of the nation nor can they afford to continue to relinquish sacred grounds that are vital to the future of Anishinabe. **We are a second chance people, and the original Midewewin was given to us to guide us not to make the same mistakes again.**

Relationship Of Resource Extraction To Native People

Issues and perceptions related to resource use are dealt with in this section. The larger question of ownership of the land and the resources is dealt with in the following section.

It is the position of this study that the renewable and non-renewable natural resources within the study area have not been willingly and properly surrendered by Native people. To understand the Native perspective, the history of resource and land surrenders must be examined.

Currently, no one can dispute that the Canadian economy is a resource economy where the continued sale of resources fuels the lifestyle of every Canadian. Vern Bellegarde, Chairman of the Prairie Treaty Nations Alliance, in a speech to the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs, stated that up to 90% of the revenue acquired by government was dependent on the sale of resources. Whether this figure is correct or not, what is relevant to this study is the perceptions Native people have of resource extraction. These perceptions will not allow them to endorse further extraction of resources in the Whiteshell.

It is important to recognize that only 0.27%, or roughly 10,313 square miles, of Canada are Reserve lands. The remaining 99.73% are under non-Native control. Today, in Canada, billions of dollars worth of resources are extracted annually from lands whose title Native people dispute. For example, two companies, INCO and Alcan, are multinational corporations drawing revenue from diverse sources. The success, if not the viability, of these companies continues to depend on the extraction of low cost resources. They had a combined total of nearly $12 billion in revenues **in 1988 alone.**

TOTAL REVENUES 1988: $11,984,168,000

INCO of Thompson	ALCAN Aluminum
revenue $3,348,168,000 (1988)	revenue $8,626,000,000 (1988)
profit $ 690,804,000 (1988)	profit $ 931,000,000 (1988)

(Globe & Mail, Report on Business, July 1989)

Although among the largest, they are only two companies of the thousands who still extract resources from disputed lands.

In addition, for Treaty people, Section 93 of the Canadian Indian Act makes resources such as gravel, oil and timber subject to the control of the Minister of Indian Affairs. For example, some Alberta Bands who have oil on their reserves, currently have $730 million held in trust by Ottawa. **Yet, they**

have to apply to the Department of Indian Affairs for access to their own money! When the estimated 80-90% unemployment rate on reserves is compared to the Canadian national unemployment rate of 7.3% (September 1989), the anger, frustrations and social ills on reserves becomes more understandable.

A well-known example of Native people losing sacred land and resources to extraction without any benefits is the Black Hills of South Dakota. Despite the fact that the Dakota people fought for their lands and never willingly gave up their sacred Black Hills, the billions of dollars worth of gold and other resources removed were of little, if any, benefit to the original owners.

In Manitoba, other examples where Native people do not receive benefits from resource use or extraction include Shoal Lake and hydroelectricity. Shoal Lake is the source of Winnipeg's water supply, yet no payment is made to Natives for its use (at least at the price the Native people are asking). Dams for generating electricity have been built in northern Manitoba, devastating Native people, yet they receive no royalties on the sale of electrical power.

These are some of the reasons that Native people are totally frustrated with the general non-Native perception that the Canadian government gives Natives "free" federal funding. It is like renting your home to people who set the rental price and demand that you account to them on how you spend the rent money. In order for Native people to have an independent means of income, they must develop and control some resources; otherwise, they will continue to have high unemployment and will remain totally dependent on government funding. To give up resources for other people to develop is a short-sighted policy.

Thus it might be understandable why requests for resource extraction get little support from Native people in general, and in the Manito Ahbee area in particular.

The Larger Question Of Ownership

In order for this study to examine all aspects of the Native perspective, one must present the sense of loss that Elders feel over the lack of use or ownership of the petroform sites. Although the ownership question is not contested currently, it is worthwhile for future reference to examine the position of Native people in relation to the use and ownership of the site. It is in this context that we now examine the broad issue of treaties and resource surrenders.

Treaties are legal contracts between nations. They are **the "highest laws" of the land** and define the relationship between Native and non-Native people. Under International Law, non-Native title to Canadian lands comes from the Native people's surrender of the land in accordance with Treaties. Article 17 of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights protects ownership of property, and any violation of Treaties is consequently also a violation of basic human rights. The basic understanding of Native people in regard to the land is that their title to 3.83 million square miles of Canada does not come from the Treaties, the Royal Proclamation of 1763, or recognition by any other people of their title. Rather, it comes from that fact that human beings have the right to own property and the right to be free from being arbitrarily deprived of their property.

Further, Native people contend that they did not surrender control of the resources and all the land in the Treaties that were concluded. As in any contract, in order to pass title of property to someone else, the conditions of the sale and the exact specifications of the property must be identified and adhered to. At the time of the signing of the Treaties, Native people had no written language; therefore, verbal promises not specifically contained in the actual documents may be considered conditions of the surrender, if such promises can be proven. Further, as in any sale or surrender, any item not specifically mentioned cannot be part of the sale or surrender. **Since Native people did not have a written language at the time of the Treaties, the onus of proof is on the Government.** Finally, any failure to abide by the conditions of the sale or surrender **may result in the voiding of ownership of those lands by non-Native people.**

Relationship To Manito Ahbee

The Province of Manitoba is, under Canadian law, the legal owner of the area, and the land is designated a provincial park, subject to the jurisdiction of the Province of Manitoba. If Native people were to challenge the Province's ownership of the area, it would be done on the basis of Treaties.

Manito Ahbee was supposed to be retained land, and should have been written in the Treaties as such. According to George Courchene, an Elder at Fort Alexander Reserve, there were three bands who resided in the Manito Ahbee area. They were chased off or relocated by the authorities some time after the signing of the Treaties. These three bands eventually became part of Fort Alexander.

An 1875 Memorandum signed by the Governor General discussed the issue of "the very unsatisfactory state of affairs arising out of the so-called Outside Promises" that Native people believed were supposed to be included in the Treaties. It supports the contention that there were ongoing discussions about the contents of the Treaties. This memorandum states in part:

> *"That the Indian Commissioner be instructed to inform the Indians, parties to Treaties Nos 1 and 2, that while the Government cannot admit their claim to anything not set forth in the Treaty, and in the memorandum attached thereto, which treaty is binding alike upon the Government and upon the Indians, yet there seems to have been some misunderstanding between the Indian Commissioner and the Indians in the matter of Treaties Nos 1 and 2."*

The Crown signed Treaties with only those "Indians" considered not to be Metis. In 1871, Commissioner Simpson originally did not invite the Anishinabe of Fort Alexander to participate in the signing of the Treaties and only allowed them to participate after they had vigorously protested their exclusion. The decisions made by the Commissioner **at that time were very**

arbitrary. Any group not participating in the signing of the Treaties is considered Non-Status or Metis and according to the Government of Canada is thus not entitled to be recognized as "Indian" under the Indian Act. As a result of arbitrary decisions made in 1871, there are now over 100 Metis or Non-Status communities in Manitoba. This has served to arbitrarily and artificially separate Anishinabe.

As more and more Native people and organizations seek international recognition of their title to property, the previous treatment of Native issues has come under international scrutiny. This is now happening in the Non Governmental Section of the United Nations in Geneva where ongoing discussions are attempting to have Treaties reviewed by the United Nations. Various committees and people are constantly working to make this process a reality, and the Non Governmental Section has sponsored several Seminars. On January 20, 1989 the Non Governmental Section adopted a report from one of these Seminars regarding the rights of indigenous people which supported many of the points discussed in this section of our study. They include **the need to recognize collective rights of Native people, the need to have international enforcement of treaties and agreements, the need to eradicate colonial concepts of conquest and trusteeship as substantiation of jurisdiction or ownership, the need for Native control over their own affairs, and the acceptance of the principle that the relationship between Native people and States be based on free and informed consent.**

The above discussion is not meant to be a condemnation of the actions of the Province of Manitoba with respect to this petroform issue. On the contrary, the Province's attitude and actions have been very fair, and the Province must be commended for seeking the Native perspective on a very sensitive issue. In the future, the question of ownership will be raised by Native people and will require resolution. The Province should review its policies accordingly.

In interviewing Native people for this study, the researchers found no unreasonable demands. In fact, many were very pleased to be asked to express their opinions, although some were not sure if they would find a favourable response. We hope this study and the Government's response to it will assure these Elders, and Native people in general, that the door is open to further dialogue with the Province of Manitoba on the issue of the land at Manito Ahbee, and how it is to be treated with the respect it deserves.

Summary Points

- The area has a natural spiritual energy. It is a "chosen" site for teachings for reasons lost to us as "modern" day people. The Native people and their researchers need time to regain that information. We need time to assess the value and teachings this place holds. We have some of the puzzle, but we need time to put the rest into place.

- To go into this area and take out granite would be like destroying the Aztec/Mayan libraries, simply because we believe we are not destroying something of value!

- Granite is a non-renewable resource that is available in abundance in other areas. If the market warrants it, the extraction of granite from other areas is feasible, given that currently some granite is being purchased from Brazil.

- To ask for a resource from sacred ceremonial grounds, especially if that resource is available elsewhere, is understandably not meeting with favourable response.

- The Treaties are not fulfilled, and resource extraction in the area is an exercise of a non-Native treaty right that has never been granted and cannot be endorsed by this study.

- The Native people cannot and will not define the boundaries of Manito Ahbee at this time, because such arbitrary lines may be used in the future as a reference of a Native position on land claims. Native people are reluctant to put forth such a position because of past actions by governments.

- For this study to reflect a "true" Native perspective, it cannot endorse quarrying given the lack of support for such development.

CONCLUSIONS

AND

RECOMMENDATIONS

An Elder's comment concerning being "consulted" on the petroglyph sites at Peterborough, Ontario.

"They ask me, I tell them, and they don't listen, and do it their own way, so why ask me?"

Conclusions

Given that, for Native people, land, water and air are sacred, and given that the primary source of self esteem (true self worth) is the belief that one is important to the Creator, and given that a good belief system is essential to physical, spiritual and emotional well-being, then it follows that:

- the purpose of these lands has been identified to have been used and to continue to be used for the spiritual, mental, and physical healing of our people, so it is essential that this area be accessible, and used for the well-being of the living and for future generations.
- Native people are united in voicing a position to preserve and protect the petroform sites as a teaching place.
- the study cannot determine or map any boundaries concerning the petroforms, since such arbitrary boundaries would limit and restrict future consideration regarding yet undiscovered and undetermined petroforms. The Study should not be required to make such a determination for all Native people.
- indigenous people's title to land comes from the fundamental right of human beings to ownership of property, as in Article 17 of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
- the only legal title that non-Natives have to the land is the Treaties.
- the federal and provincial governments have unfulfilled obligations under Treaty.
- the highest law in the land is the Treaties, and provincial laws must be in line with Treaty.
- originally there were three "reservations" (bands of Anishinabe) residing in the area who were "chased off" or relocated by the authorities.
- current camping facilities utilized by Natives are in the vicinity of cabins and homes, thereby restricting ceremonial activities because of the concerns of local residents. Ceremonial activities should not be restricted by time, sound and space limitations.
- Native people are divided by reservation, provincial, state, and international boundaries, and require an area for use in common for all indigenous people.
- Native people have knowledge of the petroforms, and access to this knowledge is restricted to people who have "earned" the right to hear these oral teachings.

- current park regulations require camping in designated areas, place restrictions on ceremonial fires and wood-gathering, charge camping fees, disallow cloth offerings, restrict access to the sites, and thereby discourage the use of the area by traditional people.
- the Interpretive Centre as envisioned by the Parks Branch (as a tourist attraction) is not seen in the same light by our people. What is a priority for Native people is to use the area as a teaching place to heal the spiritual, physical and mental well-being of our people. We need the sites for use by Native people.
- a tourist attraction, or a place to teach the ways in which Native people honour life and the Earth, is a good idea, and would be supported if established in a different area.
- commercial resource extraction and intensive recreational development in the study area is totally opposed by Native people and would be a desecration of sacred ceremonial grounds.
- Natives have more to lose than any other people should the petroforms be altered or desecrated.

Recommendations

That the Province open dialogue with Native people, with the view to returning control of these sacred grounds to them.

That the Province provide a forum by which Native people could assume more responsibility over the petroforms.

That, as an interim step, a joint management board of Native and non-Native people be set up and funded to preserve, protect and jointly manage the petroforms.

That Manito Ahbee be designated as a teaching place for use primarily by Native people.

That the joint management board determine the appropriate rules and regulations concerning access to the petroforms by Native and non-Native people, with a governing principle that the petroforms be designated as a place accessible to and for use by all Native people.

That Parks Branch immediately rescind its camping fees for traditional Native people who want to use the site for ceremonial purposes.

That ceremonial fires, cloth offerings and other religious activities not be restricted, and that Parks Branch determine (with Native people) how to meet the wood, water and other needs of the traditional people utilizing the area.

That a year-round camping facility be set aside for the exclusive use of Native people.

That the camping facility's location, use and development be determined by the joint management board.

That, as a result of this consultation with Native people, an awareness has been created about the petroforms that must be followed through.

That the site not be used as a tourist attraction.

That a world-class interpretive centre geared for tourism be built at some other as yet unspecified location closer to modern conveniences, with input and help by Native people. This is strongly recommended.

That a further study to determine the specific location and scope of the world-class centre on Native people be funded and that such a study be carried out as soon as possible.

That the Province review and repeal its policy of allowing resource extraction within Whiteshell Provincial Park.

That Manito Ahbee be protected from all manner of industrial resource extraction and intensive recreational developments.

That the Province uphold the rights of Native people within the Whiteshell while the ownership question is being settled.

APPENDIX A

TRANSCRIPTS
OF
INTERVIEWS

Some Elders asked not to be named, and out of respect we have not included their names or the transcripts of the interviews with them.

As with Katherine Pettipas' commentary, the names of Elders interviewed have been blanked out, where permission has not been received to utilize their names.

Interviews With Edward Benton Banai
(not verbatim, noted out of memory of interview)

(Interviewer, Terrance Nelson)

(Interviewer's Note: Because we were very informal, no tape recorder was used out of respect for an Elder; we talked generally, about the fact that we will get criticisms for our efforts but "it had to be done." For example, Edward Benton Banai is an author of "The Mishomis Book", a written version of the teachings of the Midewewin Lodge which some Elders did not want published, but again, "it had to be done.")

One of the main interviews with Edward Benton Banai took place in Shawno, Wisconsin at his home 11:15 p.m. to 1:30 a.m. on August 4th, 1989. For many years, Mr. Benton Banai has been the driving force behind the revival of the Midewewin and was the main organizer of the Three Fires Society.

Although the transcript of the actual interviews has very little substance and only highlights the important points, behind the interview information are years of teachings, and attendance at ceremonies, that reinforce the points made by Mr. Benton Banai at the interview.

(Terrance Nelson: The interview was started by relating the message given by Elder __________ regarding the Petroform Sites.)

In essence, __________ was dead set against using the sites for anything other than as a teaching place for Native people. Edward Benton Banai echoed that thought and stated that "we must preserve our history for ourselves and our children. The whole area must be preserved."

Mr. Benton related a personal story of how he grew up knowing about another place of great spiritual importance, that being Manitoulin Island in Ontario. Even as far away as where he grew up, in Lac Court Oreilles, Wisconsin, the histories of those places were preserved in the Midewewin Lodges of Wisconsin. He grew up wanting to visit Manitoulin Island, and when (guessing at around forty years old) he finally did have an opportunity to see first-hand that area, he was disappointed by the lack of information that local Anishinabe had about the importance of the area they lived in.

He stated that there was a link between all the sacred places like Tie Creek and Dreamers Rock on Manitoulin Island.

Asked how he felt about the Roseau River Chapter of Three Fires doing a study, he stated "It has to be done. It is good, because somebody has to do it." He mentioned that one thing that has to happen is that the Elders have to get together and there has to be a discipline among the Midewewin people. As interviewer, I stated that I felt many times that I got conflicting information and opinions from Elders. His response was that the Elders must get together and decide how and what they teach the younger generations.

I related to him one of __________'s observations that some of the sites were moved, that at some point someone cut timber in that area, and some of the sites were bulldozed! As such there were some sites that no longer had any meaning whatsoever.

Edward Benton agreed, but also said some of the sites no longer had any meaning for modern man anyway. Some of the sites were meant to teach people in the far past lessons they needed to learn.

Also mentioned was that the whole area is the "genesis" of the Midewewin. Before the site was created, there was nothing.

Specifically, the human form in the circle is Waynaboozhoo in the first Sweat Lodge, and these sites were built by the Spirits as a physical reminder of the teachings of the Creator. Without these physical reminders, a lot of the teachings would be forgotten.

A point was made that the Shaking Tent, a ceremony performed by certain Anishinabe people, is a much more recent activity (Interviewer's Note: possibly similar to the Ghost Dance among the Sioux) but that this came from the Midewewin Lodge.

(Interviewer's Note: One of the Elders, Eddie Two Teeth of Montana, a practitioner of the Shaking Tent, has also confirmed that the Shaking Tent Ceremony came "from the Lodge.")

In the interview, Edward Benton Banai made the statement that the spirits built the petroform sites as a teaching tool, that some of these sites have meaning for future generations and really (some of these sites) have no meaning for this living generation.

He also stated that the spirits who built these sites are gone (when did they leave?) but that they will be back.

He regretted that there was not enough time to do a ceremony in the area, and that there needs to be a very small group of experienced people to go into the area to do the needed ceremonies. They needed the time and to be left alone to do them properly!

The area needed to be made accessible for Native people. In the past, people used canoes or walked in, but today, "we've been spoiled" by modern conveniences, and some of the Elders can not make the trek into the area! "We need to make use of this area!" "We have to have access!"

Asked specifically about the idea of an Interpretive Centre, he stated that one of our goals has to be to teach, to give a better image of Anishinabe, and he supported the concept of the Interpretive Centre, but (Interviewer's Note: not necessarily at the sites.)

I asked him about whether I was correct in interpreting James Redsky's version of the Spirit's afterlife journey as the meaning behind the Turtle and Snake petroforms. He stated, "I would say, that is almost right."

"ALMOST!"

"I can't give you a definitive answer on that yet, but I think that you're almost right on that."

(Interviewer's Note: There is a legend that one of the Anishinabe people asked Waynaboozhoo (who is both good and evil, both man and spirit) for everlasting life. This person wanted immortality, so Waynaboozhoo turned him into a rock.)

"This place was built by the spirits and in order to really see it, it has to be viewed from the air as it was meant to be seen."

A final point made is that regardless of what interpretations we put forth, there will always be dissension, because we are dealing with an oral history.

Interview With Dave Courchene Jr.

(Interviewer, Charles Nelson)

"I would relate to you some feelings and some of our work." As he was about to start, I brought out some tobacco. For the time being, I would rely on this tobacco as a retainer. I would be approaching Dave again in the future as he might amend some of the passages and information.

Dave talked about his work relating to Tie Creek. From listening to him, his group of people is basically Shaking Tent people. The Shaking Tent ceremony is very revered by the Native people. The Shaking Tent is common to Native people all across North America and may have different names with other tribes. Dave has people working with him from, but not limited to, Fort Alexander, Peguis and Lake of the Woods, Northwest Bay. Earlier in his trek to follow Native ways, he learned a lot from __________. The Elder who taught him about the Shaking Tent was the late Rene Counsellor of Northwest Bay, Ontario. Lately he has gone to see Don Morrison of Lake of the Woods, for consultation on his work and dreams related to rock paintings.

Dave is young at forty years and has much energy to help the people. He should be given more room and resources to continue his work in this field. He talked about using the land at Tie Creek. On occasion his group would camp at the public camping grounds. In their experience they were approached by the camp security/conservation officer to pay for their camping. "We paid over a hundred dollars one time," he said and "when we collected all the money from our members, we paid our camping bill and then we had no money for food so we had to disperse, go home." The opportunity to utilize these grounds for spiritual purposes is very restricted by our own monetary situation. Dave and some of his people are unemployed. Dave and his people provide a great service to our people. This work that his group is doing is very vital and necessary.

Dave finished by saying it is important that the study results be formally given to the Government in a proper ceremony so that the people can tell their thoughts about the meaning of the sites.

Interview With George Courchene

(Interviewer, Charles Nelson)

George has been an alcohol counsellor at the Sagkeeng Alcare Centre for some 12 years and is a spiritual leader, little boy water drum carrier, and pipe carrier. He is now approaching 60 years of age and is still an avid follower of an Ojibway Elder from Alberta. George's leadership is recognized by Native spiritual believers throughout southern Manitoba. As primary water drum carrier in his community, all visiting water drums are helpers to him. He may request at times that another water drum take the teaching lead, but he is the one to make that request.

George said there were three small reserves in the area. The people from these reserves were relocated to Fort Alexander Reserve. They were "chased off" by the authorities after the Treaties. He didn't have (or won't share) the knowledge of who the families are that are descended from these three bands.

George has travelled in the Whiteshell throughout his life and remembers the wild rice picking. The Rennie River and Heart Lake were good rice fields before. The Native people of Kenora and the Lake of the Woods area would travel to this place for ricing, medicine gathering and ceremonies. George would talk of the people in terms of kinship, as they would use the land in common.

Water in the area immediately around the site seems non-existent. Some of the lakes he visited in and around Tie Creek include White Lake, Betula Lake, Lone Island Lake, Mallard Lake, Little Whiteshell Lake, Crowduck Lake, Crowduck Falls, George Lake, Echo Lake, Little Rice Lake, Caddy Lake, and Jessica Lake.

Interview with Jim Dumont

September 5, 1989

Interviewer, Charles Nelson:

Our knowledge of the site seems limited to what was researched already and the little knowledge we have picked up in recent years.

One explanation for the site at Peterborough, Ontario (Petroglyphs Provincial Park) indicates that the drawings were scroll versions written down on the rocks. This explanation was repudiated by an Elder who said these are teachings rocks. The Elder said there should be markers from several directions to give direction to the drawings.

I told him of other interviews in which people indicated that they visited the sites quite often, 4-5 times this year. Some of the ceremonies require a strong spiritual support; in this sacred land no evil can penetrate. There are natural spiritual boundaries that cannot be broken.

It is essential that the sites be protected and that Native people are involved in its future management, protection and use.

After our discussion, he agreed to send some written material for use in the study. A copy of it is included below for the reader's information.

MANITOBA PETROFORMS:

COMMENTS ON ANISHINABE ROCK FORMATIONS AND SUPPORT FOR THE IDENTIFICATION, PROTECTION AND DEVELOPMENT OF WHITESHELL AND TIE CREEK BASIN AS A WORLD CLASS HERITAGE AND HISTORICAL SITE

Submitted by

Jim Dumont, Associate Professor
Native Studies Department
University of Sudbury
Laurentian University
Sudbury, Ontario

THE STATUS OF NORTH AMERICAN ROCK ART

Rock paintings, petroglyphs and petroforms (collectively referred to here as "rock art") are distributed throughout this continent, appearing as expressions of history, sacred accounts, clan inscriptions, dream descriptions, teaching blueprints, and migration records in the traditions of the various distinct Native cultures of North America. Concentrations of these are found in the American southwest, the California region, the Pacific Northwest coast, the Mississippi/Missouri/Ohio River system, and the Canadian shield. The Whiteshell-Tie Creek Basin site is continuous with the Anishinabe (Algonquian) complex that spans from the Atlantic coast to Manitoba, with connections to some sites that stretch as far west as the Rocky Mountains in British Columbia.

In both traditional historical accounts and anthropological-archaeological determination, these sites are of the Anishinabe culture, demonstrating both common ancestry and continuous heritage. Traditional history regards these as an historical account and recollections of sacred teachings that record their connectedness as a common nation and follows the course of their migration and dispersal from the Atlantic coast toward the west. Anthropological and archaeological research verifies that the rock art evidence is that of a common ancestral culture which has continuity of style, form, symbolism, and content ranging across a broad geographical area and across a broad expanse of time.

Much has been done in the area of identification of sites over the past twenty years, especially in the realm of rock paintings of the Atlantic coast, Great Lakes and Canadian shield regions. Extensive study has also been done on the cataloguing of the motifs of the petroglyph site near Peterborough, Ontario, as well as demarcating sites and describing patterns of "medicine wheels" of the

Plains region. There seems to have been very little elucidation, however, on the definition and meaning or the purpose and content of the sites. By some, it is assumed that the "creators" of the works are too ancient to be a part of the memory of the present Native culture. More often the students of rock art have little or no access to informed Native consultants. As a result, little has been done to bring traditional Native knowledge together with the identification of sites and their content for an informed interpretation of the sacred sites complex of the Anishinabe.

THE ANISHINABE RECORD

According to Anishinabe sources there is a "corridor" of successive rock paintings, rock carvings, petroglyphs and petroforms stretching east to the Atlantic seaboard and west to the Rocky Mountains. The main concentration of these is from the Kawartha Lakes area in southern Ontario to southern Manitoba. To the north this Anishinabe-Ojibwa corridor is bounded roughly by the height of land where Ojibwa meets Swampy Cree territory and to the south it is bounded by the territory of the Noddewessi, the Siouan peoples in the west and the Iroquoian Confederacy in the east.

From these can be traced the migration of the Anishinabe from their eastern homeland to the extreme west end of the Great Lakes. Along the migration route can be found those markings that record the stopping places en route, as well as various records of the entire migration story. With the appearance and westward movement of the "newcomers" to North America in the 15th century, there followed a further movement/migration of people, originating from the great gathering place at Sault Ste. Marie across the northern shore of Lake Superior to Manitoba. There ensued, with the 16th century suppression and threatening of Native traditions and sacred ceremonies, a second migration of Ojibwa people from southern Manitoba toward the west along the present-day Canada-U.S. border of Montana, proceeding to the Canadian Rocky Mountains where Ojibwa descendants still reside today.

In certain places, Anishinabe left a more permanent and comprehensive record of the teachings, prophecies, and history of the people. One such major depository of knowledge is in the Kawartha Lakes region, near present-day Peterborough, Ontario, known as the "Teaching Rocks". The picture representations inscribed on these rocks tell a great story of Anishinabe beginnings, sacred teachings and history. They also foretold of the arrival of newcomers to the eastern shores and, beyond this, forecast further eventualities, along with reminders for Anishinabe of their central beliefs and symbols to carry from their past into their future. It is also known from traditional sources that this site "points to" other major sites that bear a direct and continuous relationship to this ancestor-site. With this testimony there should not only be recurring evidence of depositories along this corridor, but also there can presumably be expected a site of similar importance and magnitude that marks the western extremity of the corridor.

MANITOBA PETROFORMS

In giving official approval to the preservation, development and management of Petroglyphs Provincial Park in 1977, the Ontario Minister of Natural Resources recognized "the importance of this unique feature in both a provincial and national context", clearly stated that it is "imperative that the petroglyphs site be safeguarded and protected" and confirmed that development "should not intrude on the area's undisturbed setting". In endorsing the Petroglyphs Provincial Park Development Plan, the Hon. Frank S. Miller acknowledged that "our civilization will have a glimpse into the past and a better understanding of the historical roots of our province" (Minister's Approval Statement, Queen's Park, 1977). This same recognition of the importance of these sites to both the Native peoples' heritage and to the Canadian heritage needs to be accorded to the various sites along the corridor of the Anishinabe sacred rock art.

In the territory of the Anishinabe (Ontario/Manitoba), there are over 300 known sites of rock art, pictographs and petroglyphs. Only 20 of these are actual petroglyphs, the major site being the Peterborough site. Only some of these are protected and accessible through provincial park developments. Nevertheless, all possible sites need to be preserved and protected. The Manitoba petroform sites equally need to recognized as continuous with this same tradition and heritage. Accordingly, they should similarly be acknowledged provincially or nationally acknowledgement, as well as being understood as fundamental to the culture, heritage, history, and sacred tradition of Native peoples.

Every effort needs to be made to accord to the Whiteshell/Tie Creek Basin site national and international recognition as a primary Native heritage site. It is critical, as well, that any development of the site and of educational and interpretive centres or projects be in consultation and cooperation with Aboriginal people versed in the tradition and culture of the Anishinabe. In fact, it would be ideal for the Native people themselves to be the primary guardians, managers, interpreters and developers of the site, in association with concerned provincial or national authorities.

Interview With Mary and Harry Roberts

(Interviewer, Charles Nelson)

I asked Rosie Nelson, Midewewin student in her early childhood, if she would come with me to talk to Mary (third degree Midewewin) and Harry Roberts (first degree Midewewin).

These Elders maintained that it was interesting that these petroforms are there. "We wouldn't necessarily rush over there to learn, to live, to teach about the rock formations." Rosie said, "I have become accustomed to this lifestyle that I live today and it's a simple life."

Although they expect, request, and demand very little, Mary and Harry are avid followers of Midewewin of the Three Fires Lodge. They would travel long distances such as to Sudbury, Ontario and Indian Reservations in Wisconsin to attend Midewewin ceremonies.

It would be difficult for some Elders to be able to get to the sites because they have to walk into the area. Given the age and health of some of the Elders, this is a severe limitation.

Acknowledging Our Interviews

Elders\Leaders

Herman Atkinson
Oliver Bird
Dave Courchene, Jr.
Ken Courchene
Paul Huntinghawk
Gordon James
Edna Manitowabe
Garry McCorrister
Marjorie Nelson
Stanley Nelson
Calvin Pompana
Mary Roberts
Wendall Sinclair
Wally Swain
Mark Thompson

Edward Benton Banai
Chief Roderick Bushie
George Courchene
Jim Dumont
Robin Greene
Ralph Kent
Vera Martin
Eva McKay
Rosie Nelson
Peter O'Chiese
Harry Roberts
Garry Robson
Jack Starr
Dan Thomas

Regrets to those people we were not able to interview

Jack Steinbring	not available
Alex Skead	could not be reached
Leonard Crow Dog	could not be reached

Our thanks to the workshop participants, and especially to Chief Wendall Sinclair for the hospitality of the people of Brokenhead Reserve.

APPENDIX B

RESOLUTIONS OF SUPPORT

SOUTHEAST RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT COUNCIL

AND

ASSEMBLY OF MANITOBA CHIEFS

SOUTHEAST RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT COUNCIL CORP.

HEAD OFFICE:
BROKENHEAD INDIAN BAND
SCANTERBURY, MANITOBA
R0E 1W0
PHONE (204) 766-2494

WINNIPEG OFFICE:
201-511 ELLICE AVE.
WINNIPEG, MANITOBA
R3B 1Y8
PHONE (204) 477-6050
FAX (204) 772-1226

ASSOCIATED COMPANIES
- SOUTHEAST CHILD & FAMILY SERVICES INC.
- SOUTHEAST TRIBAL DIVISION FOR SCHOOLS, INC.
- SOUTHEAST DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION

RESOLUTION

Whereas: The Tie Creek Basin area, located in Whiteshell Provincial Park, contains artifacts, petroforms and sites of cultural and ceremonial significance to the First Nations peoples.

Whereas: The Provincial Department of Natural Resources, Parks Branch, has commissioned an ethnographic study to:

a). Obtain a comprehensive inventory of significant ethnographic cultural sites and features of the Tie Creek Basin;

b). Determine inter-relationships between the sites and features;

c). Identify current aboriginal perceptions regarding post, present and future activities in the basin.

Therefore Be It Resolved: That the Southeast Resource Development Council supports the process of the ethnographic study, and adopts the position that there should be no development of any type of the basin area without the express approval of the First Nations communities for whom the area is culturally significant, including the SERDC First Nations.

Chief [illegible]

Chief Vera Mitchell

Chief Wendell [illegible]

Chief Franklin Bushie

Chief Jim Chandler

Chief [illegible] Cook

Chief Roderick Bushie

PROMOTING INDIAN SELF-GOVERNMENT IN BERENS RIVER • BLOODVEIN • BROKENHEAD • BUFFALO POINT • HOLLOW WATER • LITTLE BLACK RIVER • LITTLE GRAND RAPIDS • PAUINGASSI • POPLAR RIVER

ASSEMBLY OF MANITOBA CHIEFS

ASSEMBLY SECRETARIAT

MANITOBA CHIEFS GENERAL ASSEMBLY
RESOLUTIONS

No. 29/89

Subject: Ethnographic Study Support

MOVED BY:

Chief Raymond Swan
Lake Manitoba F. N.

SECONDED BY:

Chief Clifford McKay
Pine Creek F. N.

WHEREAS the Tie Creek Basin Area, located in the Whiteshell Provincial Park, contains artifacts, petroforms and sites of cultural and ceremonial significance to the First Nations peoples;

WHEREAS the Provincial Department of Natural Resources, Parks Branch, has commissioned an ethnographic study to:

(a) Obtain a comprehensive inventory of significant ethnographic cultural sites and features of the Tie Creek Basin;

(b) Determine inter-relationships between the sites and features;

(c) Identify current Aboriginal perceptions regarding past, present, and future activities in the Basin.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED THAT the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs support the process of the ethnographic study, and adopts the position that there should be no development of any type of the Basin Area without the express approval of the First Nations communities for whom the Area is culturally significant.

CARRIED

Certified copy of a
Resolution adopted on:
November 22, 1989
Winnipeg, Manitoba

Philip Fontaine
Provincial Leader

APPENDIX C

Drawings and Photographs
of
Additional Petroform Sites

Source: Studies in Manitoba Rock Art. I. Petroforms. Papers in Manitoba Archaeology, Miscellaneous Paper No. 14. Department of Cultural Affairs and Historical Resources. 1983.

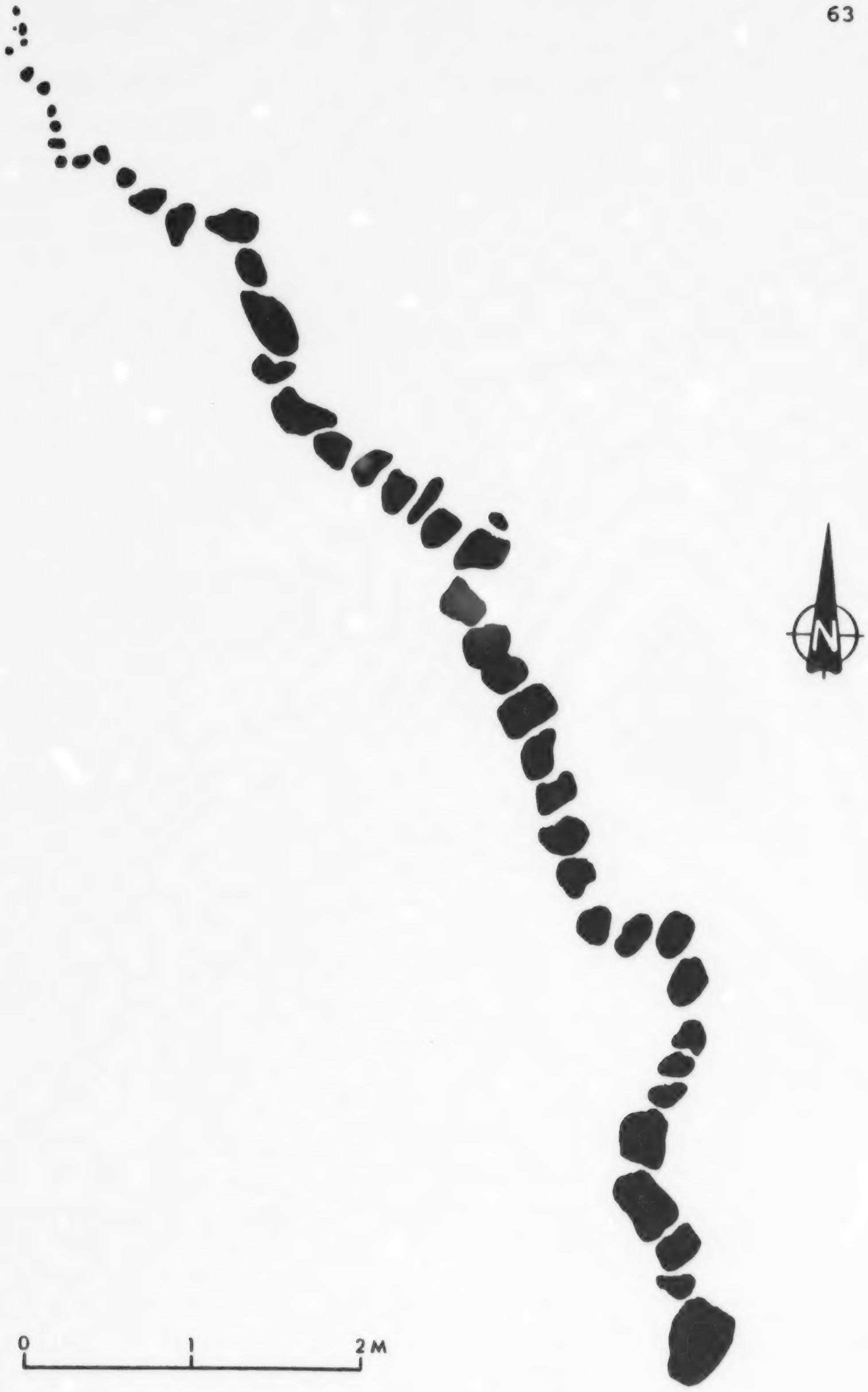


Figure 1. Pine Point Snake Petroform, Whiteshell Provincial Park.

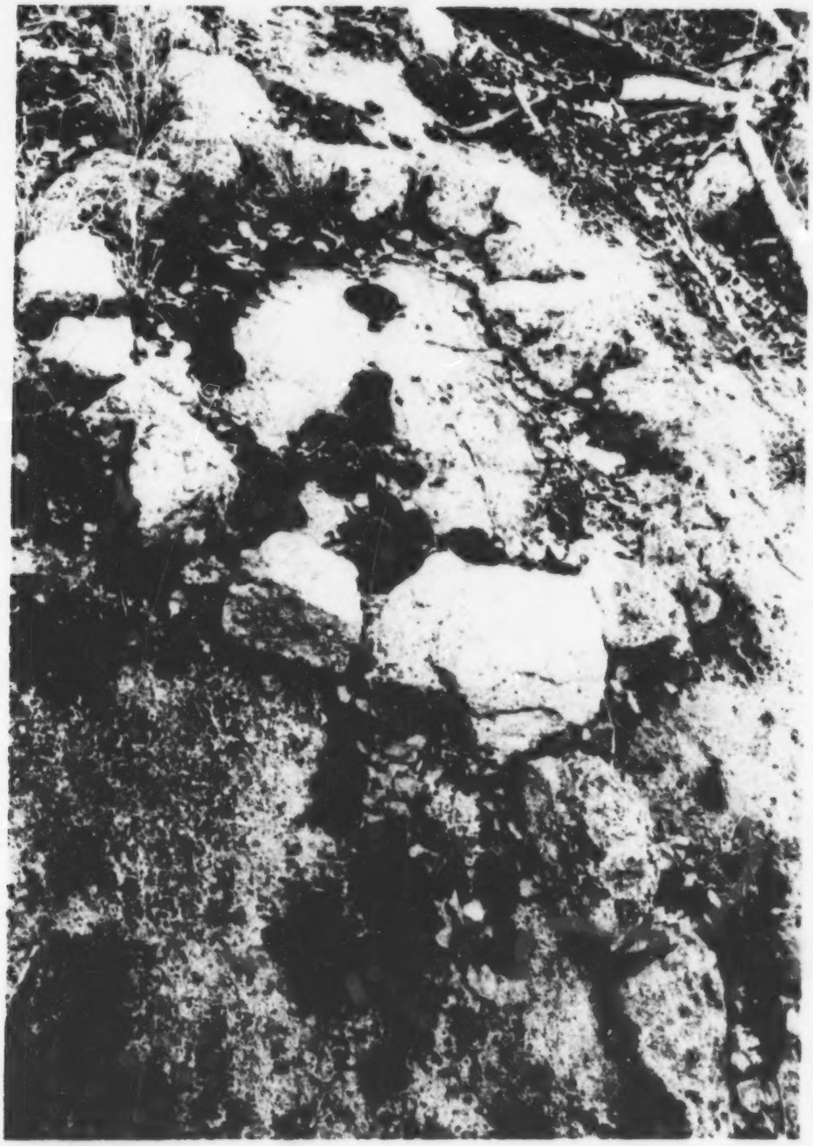


Figure 2. Turtle Petroform, Basket Falls/Rainbow Falls, Whiteshell Provincial Park.

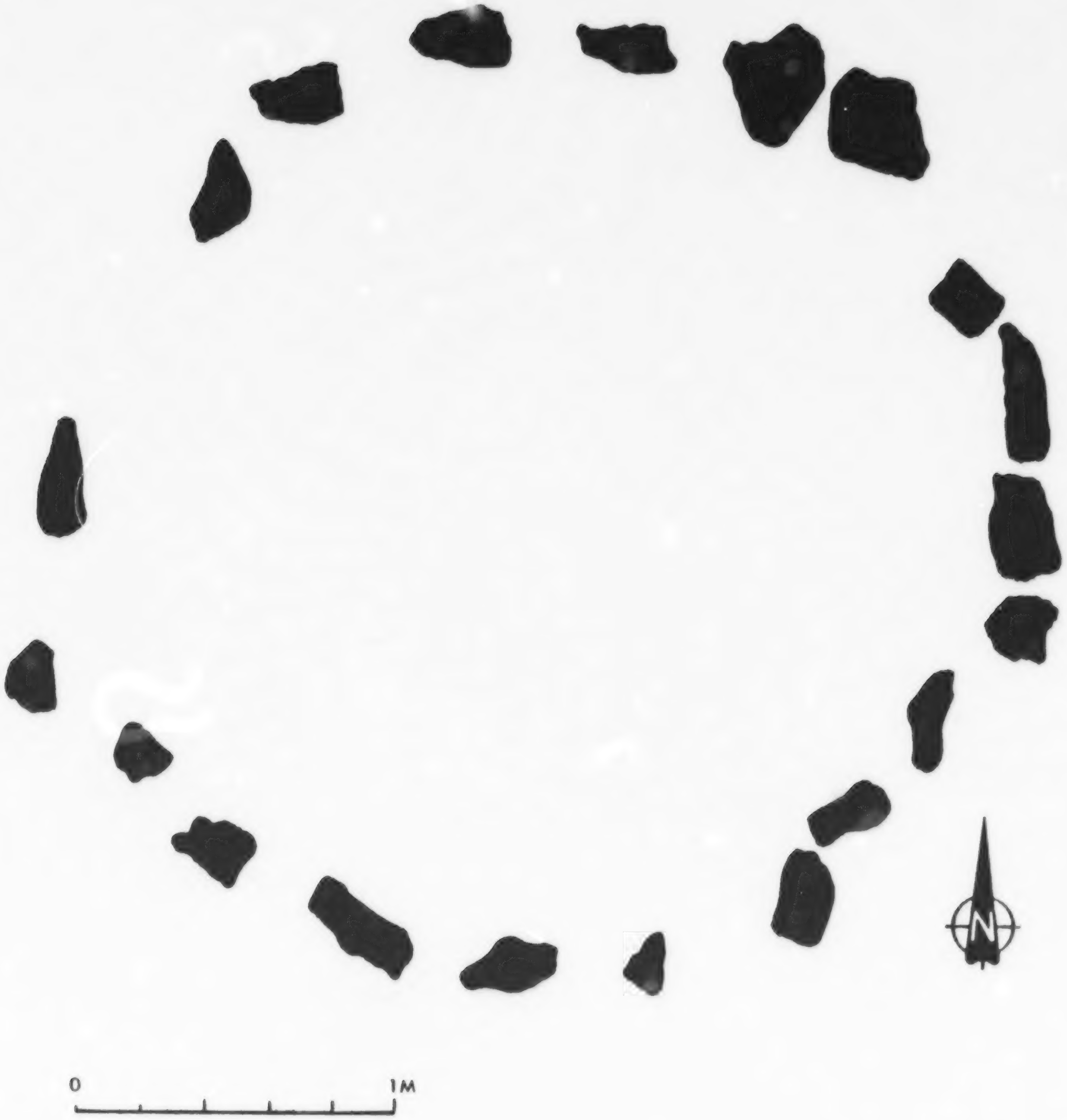


Figure 3. Circle Petroform, Red Rock Lake, Whiteshell Provincial Park.

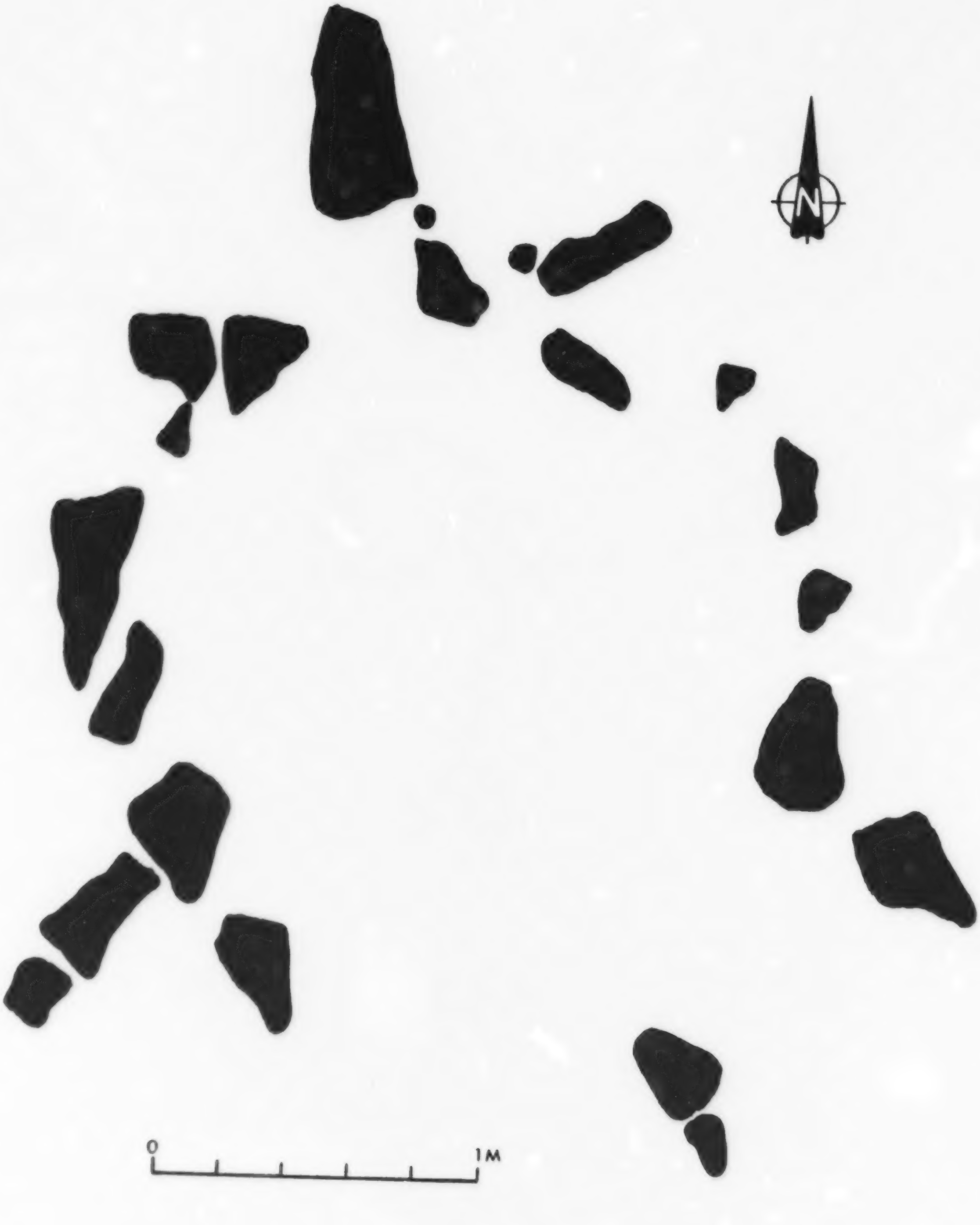


Figure 4. Turtle, Red Rock Lake, Whiteshell Provincial Park.

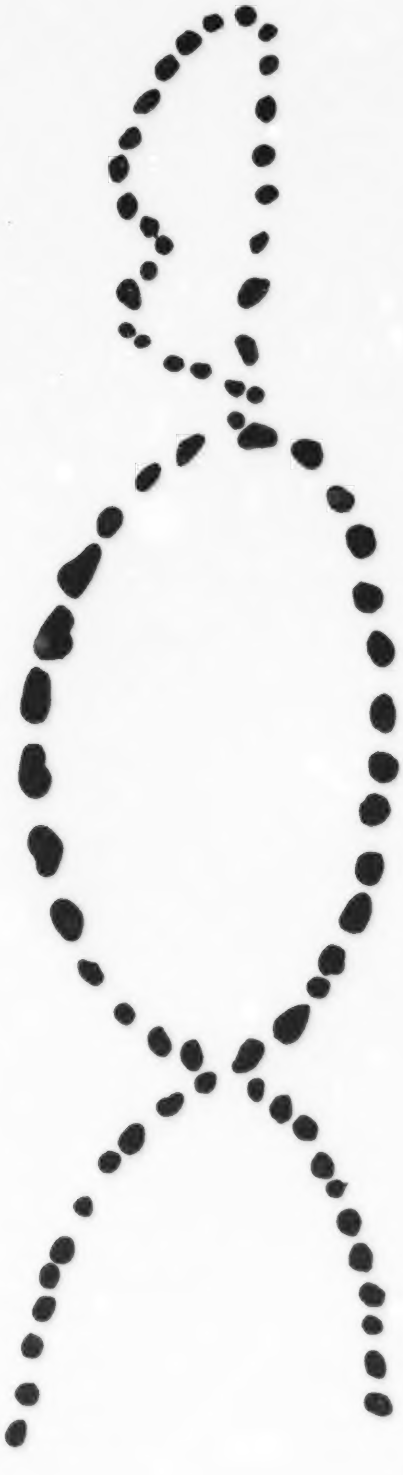


Figure 5. Possible Human Effigy, Rainbow Falls, Whiteshell Provincial Park.

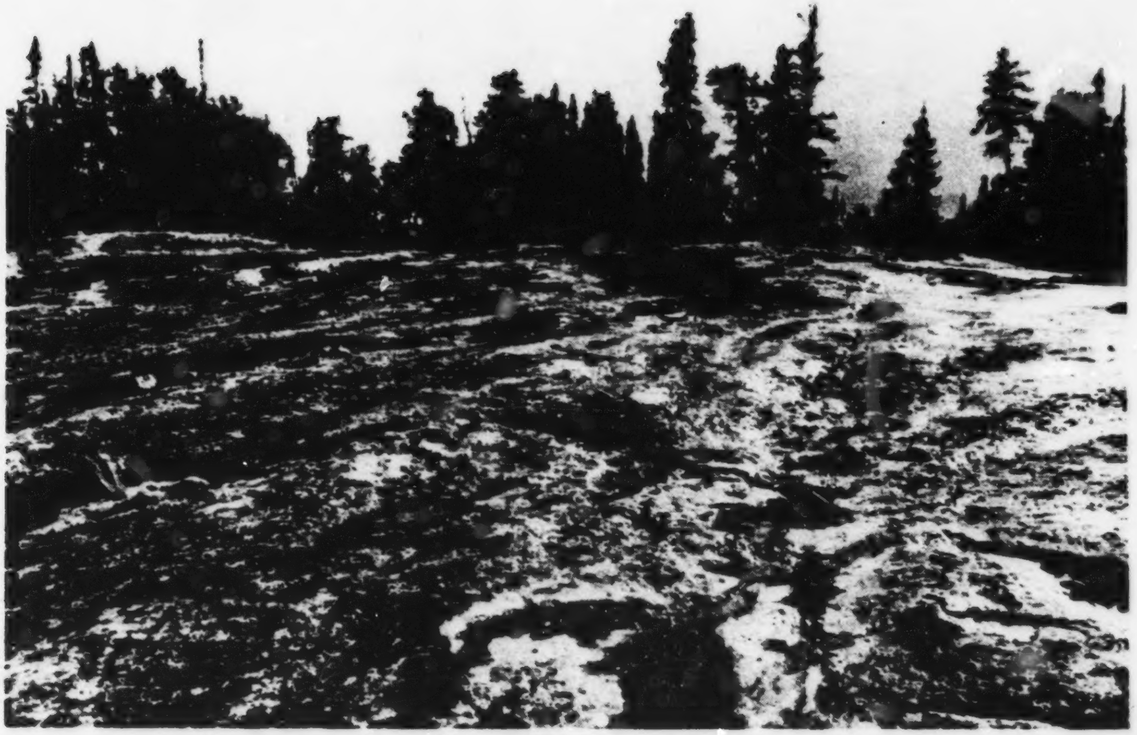


Figure 6. Tulabi Falls Petroform Site, Nopiming Provincial Park.

Figure 7. Tie Creek Area, Whiteshell Provincial Park.

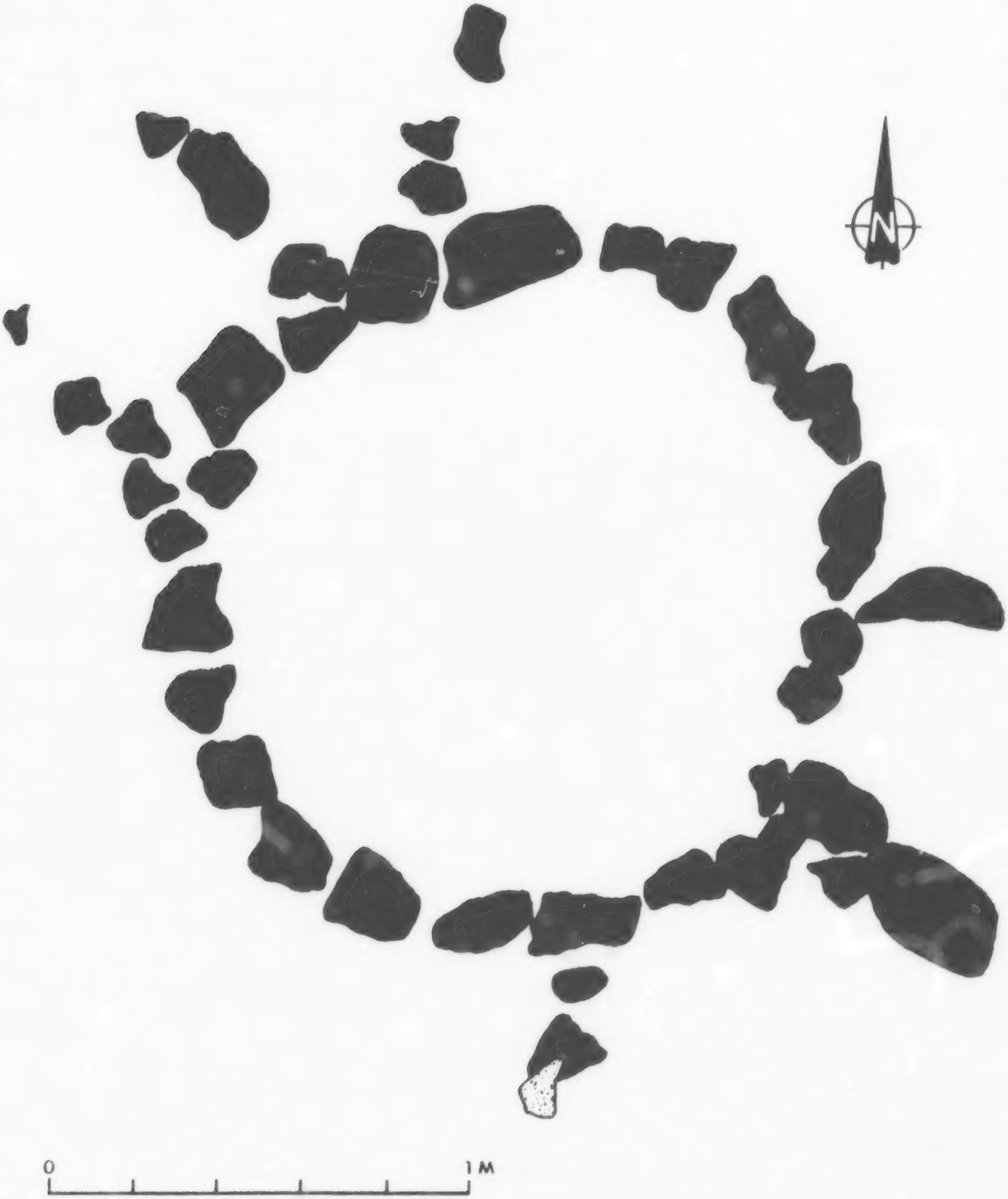


Figure 8. Turtle, Basket Falls/Rainbow Falls, Whiteshell Provincial Park.

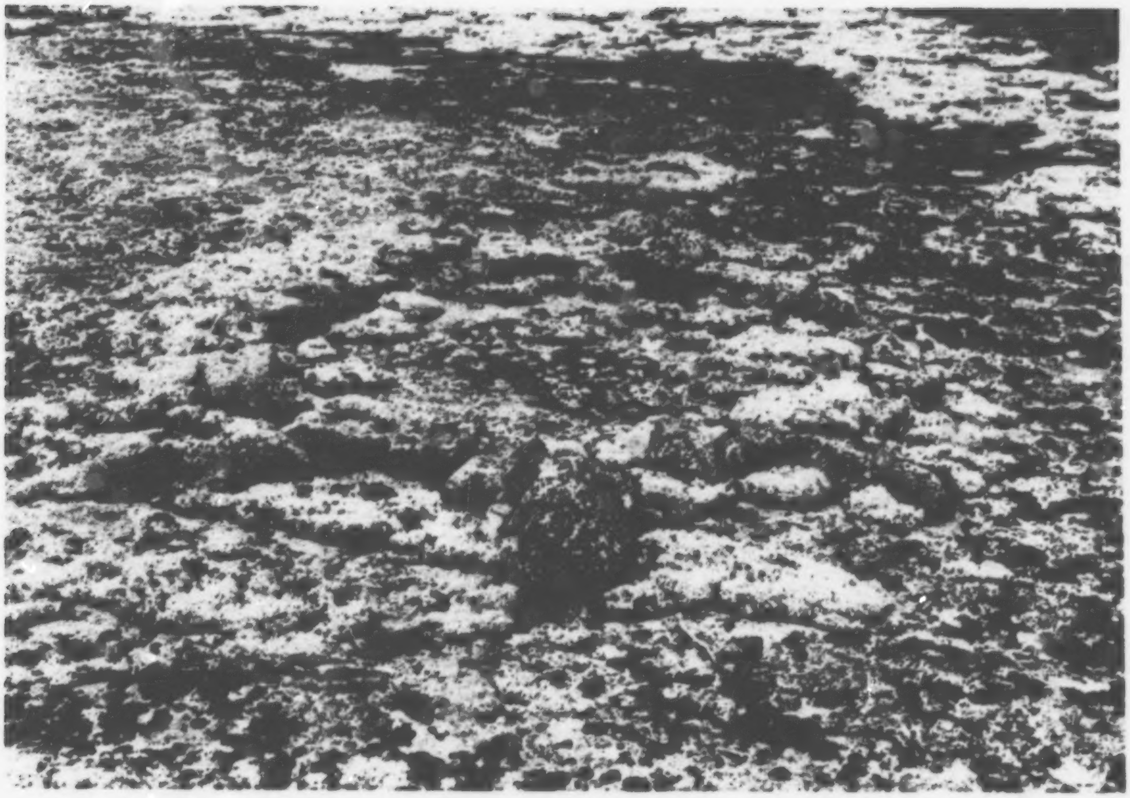


Figure 9. Turtle, Basket Falls/Rainbow Falls, Whiteshell Provincial Park.

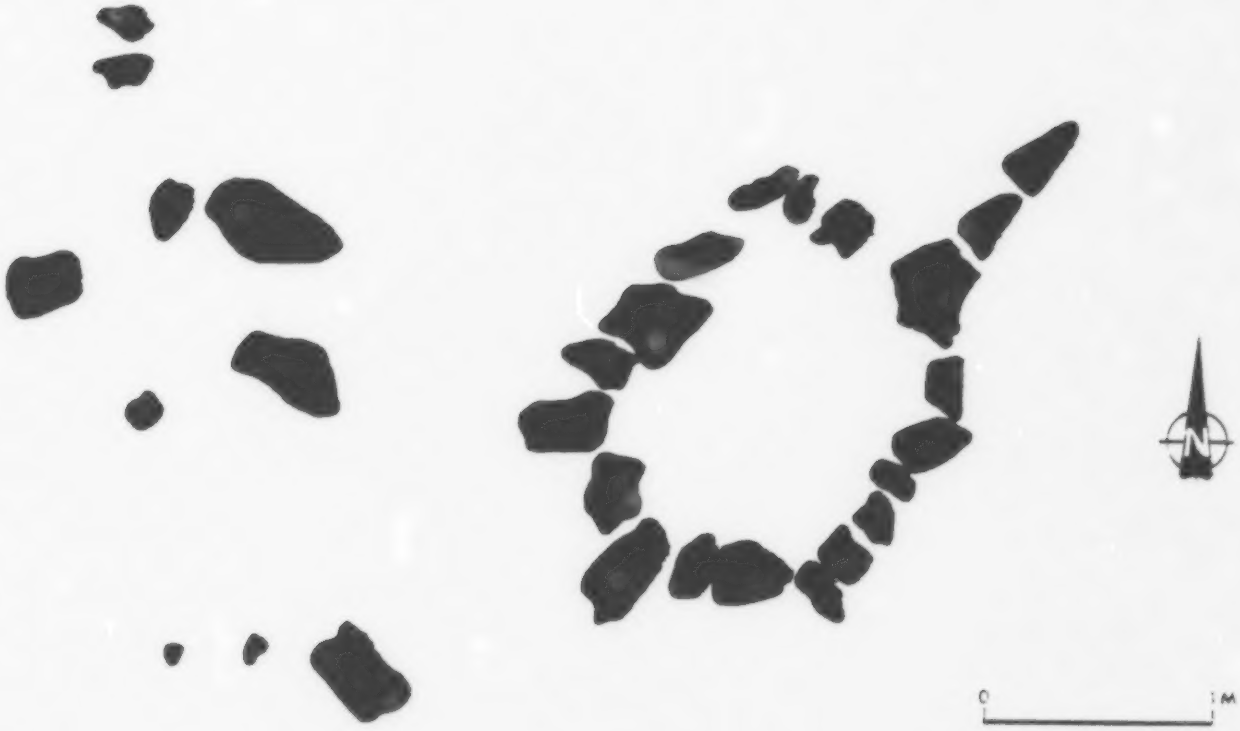


Figure 10. Petroforms, Basket Falls/Rainbow Falls, Whiteshell Provincial Park.

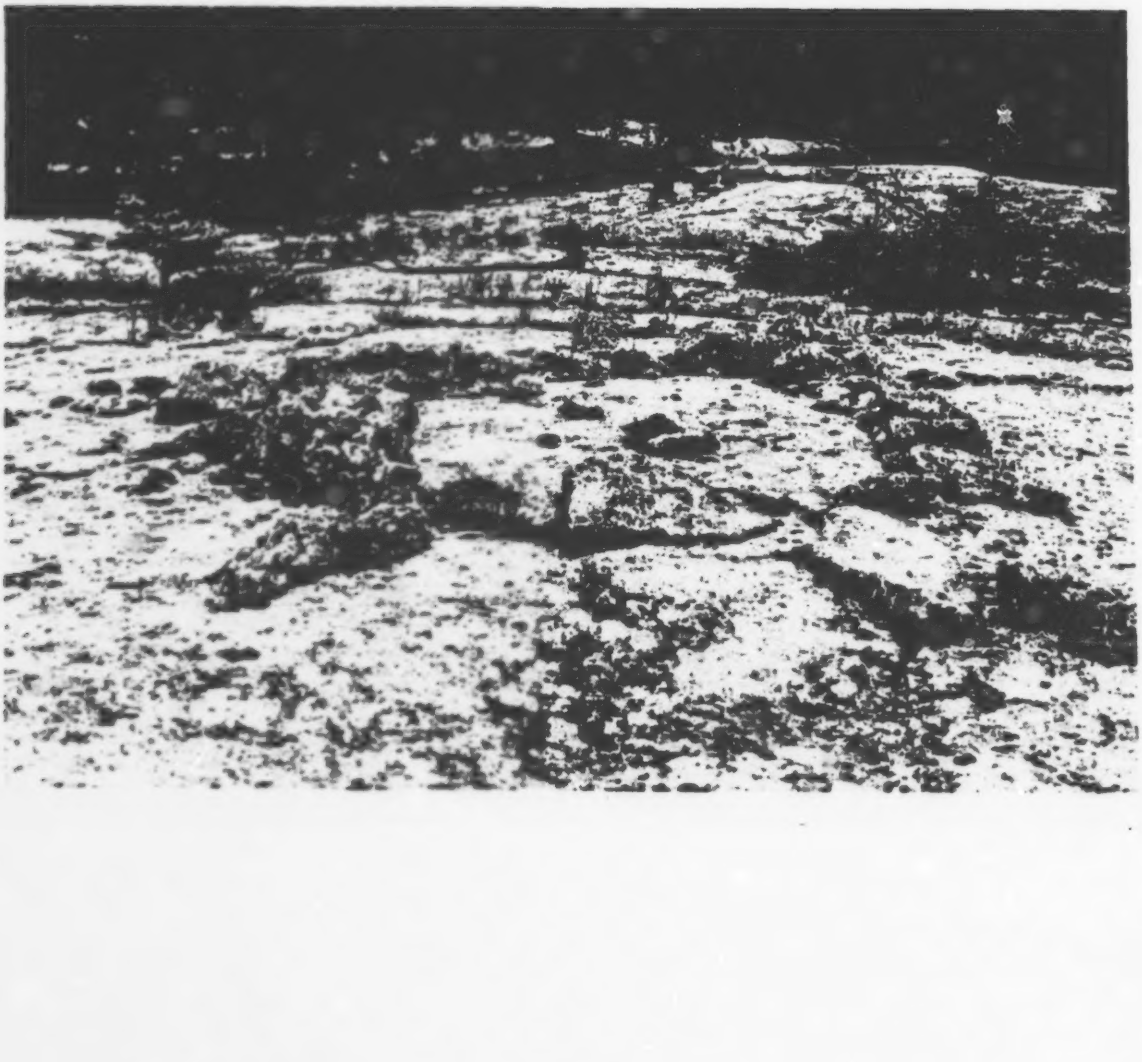


Figure 11. Petroforms, Basket Falls/Rainbow Falls, Whiteshell Provincial Park.

PART 2

TIE CREEK STUDY

A COMMENTARY

Prepared by:

Dr. Katherine Pettipas
Curator of Native Ethnology
Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature
Winnipeg

Prepared for:

Roseau River Chapter
Three Fires Society
Ginew, Manitoba

January 1990

INTRODUCTION

This section of the Tie Creek Basin Study report contains a summary of the research which has been conducted with respect to petroform sites in Manitoba and evaluates the contribution of the present study to our knowledge of these sites. In addition, a number of issues are examined related to the problems associated with the identification, interpretation, protection, preservation, and contemporary use of sacred sites . In order to provide a context for a discussion of these concerns in Manitoba, information has been drawn from the experience of the United States and other areas of the world.

PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH RESEARCH APPROACHES TO PETROFORMS

Archaeologists and anthropologists who have studied the cultural phenomenon of petroforms in Canada and the United States have generally referred to these features as "prehistoric art" or "rock art" in their reports. And, while scholarship has ascribed a religious meaning to some of these sites (through oral interviews, comparative studies, and in certain cases, through mere conjecture), the recognition of the sacred nature of their function has not been reflected in their nomenclature. These shortcomings have tended to inhibit a more holistic approach to the interpretation of these phenomena. Although some researchers have suggested the existence of a religious purpose for the construction of the petroforms by studying their astronomical alignments (Buchner 1980), few conclusions can be drawn from the data without an ethnographic context. In general, the petroforms or "boulder mosaics" are treated as examples of a type of primitive art form and as scientific specimens.

Previous studies of these sites undertaken by Western scholars have also tended to be site- or feature-specific. Researchers either have not taken into account or been unable to identify the functional relationship of the surrounding environment to the petroforms. While natural in origin, aspects of the surroundings are directly associated with the petroforms. These include the large areas of exposed bedrock, healing waters from nearby springs and lakes, medicinal plants, local game and plant resources, and natural formations which have been ascribed meanings. In the Tie Creek study area, examples of the latter include Mesabe's (the Forest Spirit) and Nanabush's footprints and the Doorway to the area which consists of a large boulder. The identification of these features and more general functions of the area will alter previous interpretations.

Finally, a question which Western scholars have not been able to answer to date is the possible connection of the sites or specific features to one another. This connection may include sites in the immediate vicinity, and those located outside the boundaries of a designated area such as a park, or even beyond political boundaries.

TREATMENT OF PETROFORMS IN THIS STUDY

According to the contractors of this study, the sites are perceived as traditional forms of sacred grounds which are used by Native peoples for a number of reasons, including teachings and healings. This approach is derived from the interpretation of the sites as given by interviewed Elders. For these people the earth itself is a living form offering not only sustenance but also spiritual teachings. The sacred teachings provide explanations of the world, the interrelationships of all beings, and ethical guidelines for a good life.

The meanings attached to the petroforms and to associated natural phenomena occurring in the area are akin to knowledge contained in Western libraries and museums, where cultural information has been recorded for preservation and learning. The petroform sites are also parallel in function with Western schools and Christian churches wherein knowledge is transmitted to future generations through teachers, elders, and religious leaders. The cultural information associated with the petroforms is simultaneously sacred and secular in nature. It consists of recorded laws for people to live by: the social, economic, and political responsibilities related to clan systems and marriage and kinship ties as well as the practical and spiritual knowledge needed for survival.

This cultural information and associated values and behaviour are recorded in a variety of ways including the use of birch bark scrolls and sacred objects. The materials from which these items are made, and the symbols and colours placed on them, also represent teachings. Their messages are communicated through oral accounts, stories, song, dances, public and private ceremonies, paintings on rock formations, petroforms, and even natural phenomena (including the planets, stars, lightning, the animal and plant worlds and special land formations).

This "holistic" approach to natural phenomena is the essence of North American Indian religious systems and of many other land-based theologies throughout the world. The flora, fauna, landscapes, and waterways have been ascribed sacred as well as secular cultural meanings. For example, the Chimalapas Forest of the Zoque Indians is called "God's Watering Gourd" and is considered to be the home of ancient spirits including the powerful Serpent Spirit, Tshuatsan; the area of Big Mountain, Arizona is the sacred homeland of the Hopi, just as the Black Hills of South Dakota are the sacred homeland of the Lakota (Sioux) and certain rock outcrops and clan lands of the Australian Aboriginal peoples are sacred ancestral grounds. The natural phenomena occurring in all of these areas form the basis for communicating cultural knowledge in both secular and sacred terms. For instance, knowledge regarding the practical use of various forms of plant life is important to physical survival; however, the knowledge associated with the spiritual nature of the plant life and the sacred relationship between humans and plants is equally important.

While the true nature of the religious belief systems of North American Indian peoples has yet to be documented (if this is indeed feasible), we can appreciate their essence and complexity from those who have undertaken such a task. For example, in his book entitled Now That the Buffalo's Gone, Alvin

Josephy (1984:79-80) described the nature of North American Indian religions in the following way:

> *"Most, if not all, of the different systems stemmed from the peoples' origin myths. They taught that everything in the universe, including man, had a spiritual power or life force, that all spiritual forces were interconnected, and that man therefore had a responsibility to that interconnection. The earth, which provided life and from which humans came, was sacred, and so was much else in human existence. Almost everywhere in the present-day United States there are locations, landmarks, and sites that were sacred to one or another tribe because they marked the boundaries of the tribe's universe, which was sacred, or were associated with sacred events or concepts, or with the departed souls of the ancestors. Where a tribe still knows the sites, even though Whites have built upon them or flooded or ploughed them over, they are still deemed sacred, though desecrated.*
>
> *Legends, ceremonies, songs, dances, and arts were integrated parts of the spiritual systems, instructing people not only in sacred matters but about many of the ends and purposes of the systems themselves - what the group expected of an individual, right and wrong behaviour, and the position and obligations of each person within the group. The systems were further strengthened by sacred symbols - fetishes, pipes, painted designs, medicine bundles, shrines, the first runs of fish, and the first fruits of the harvest - that with the help of prayers and rituals made real and living the spiritual attachments between man and the seen and unseen world and assured food, well-being, and the satisfaction of the needs and wants of the society and its members.*
>
> *The various Indian religions, in short, were awesomely pervasive and relentless, the inner skein of collective and individual life. As a daily community force, the spiritual content of a group, along with government and culture, formed what some of the tribes referred to as the sacred circle, or hoop, that held a people together. To individual Indians, deep spiritual feelings and reverence for all of creation were as much a part of their being as their physical features and personality. Spiritual power flowed like energy from their bodies, guiding their thoughts and actions by day and entering their dreams at night. It counselled and directed them throughout their lives, endowing them with values and a world view that gave meaning to their existence."*

That sacred grounds are more openly discussed, used, and are even part of land claims settlements and reclamation litigations is therefore not surprising given their function in Native American religious systems. For those who have lost their original connections with their traditional spiritual belief system and seek to regain lost knowledge, such sites are an integral part of the process of relearning and re-establishing those ties. The sites contain the tools by which the important spiritual and practical lessons can be taught by religious leaders and Elders. Therefore, the issues of their physical protection and accessibility (concerns which are equally shared by the scientific community) scientific community) are of tantamount importance to such groups - some would insist for their very survival as individuals and as Native people.

HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL FACTORS INFLUENCING RESEARCH

When conducting their fieldwork on petroform sites, archaeologists have attempted, to varying degrees, to interview Native people in nearby communities about their interpretation of the petroforms. Such information has not been readily forthcoming in the studies undertaken to date. There are a number of reasons for this situation, including a history of religious repression through legislation and the federal Indian school system, and the interpretive biases of Western social scientists. The uses of recorded sacred knowledge by researchers for scientific documentation, study, and publication contradict the belief that such knowledge should be directed toward the well-being of the community. Furthermore, field interviews which involve time limited direct questioning procedures for information are antagonistic to the correct ways involved in receiving sacred knowledge. Traditionally, this information is given only to individuals who have a demonstrated prerogative to such knowledge. The learning experience usually requires participant observation over a period of time which could range from a few days to a lifetime.

History Of Religious Repression

As historian Alvin Josephy has succinctly phrased it, non-Natives *"...failed not only to appreciate the sophistication and role of Native American spiritual systems, but even to acknowledge their validity as religions, fulfilling for the Indians what their own religions provided for themselves"* (Josephy 1984:80). By the mid-1880s, both the American and Canadian federal governments had adopted regulations designed to discourage the practice of Native religions. This move was made in response to lobbying on the part of Christian missionaries and settlers and became part of a number of measures undertaken to assimilate Native populations into the value system and lifeways of the dominant White society. In addition to federal legislation, the use of Christian-operated boarding and residential schools was a major vehicle for cultural alienation and transformation.

The traditional forms of worship witnessed by non-Natives were considered to be composed of "superstitions", pagan rituals, or forms of devil worship, and certainly as having no divine basis or practical function (See Appendix 1 for press releases on discovery of the petroform sites). At best, Native religious practices were perceived as forms of amusement. Dances and songs performed at ceremonies were never viewed as legitimate forms of worship or spiritual communication. Many White observers believed that people were being forced to hold their beliefs through the power of Medicine Men who were only interested in achieving their own selfish ends by intimidating the naive to remain loyal followers, and by exacting payment for their ritual services.

There was also repulsion of the unfamiliar such as the self-offerings or "piercing" which took place at the Sun (Thirst) Dances. The ceremonial distribution of goods (Giveaway) practised at many ceremonial occasions was considered to be wasteful. This "Give Away" of goods was never viewed as a practical and effective redistributive system or as an integral part of the traditional economic system. Rather, such practices were considered to be intemperate, wasteful, and impoverishing since they contradicted the Western capitalistic values of thrift and material progress. As a result of these attitudes towards Native religions, the Canadian federal government, through the auspices of the Indian Act, created regulations prohibiting certain religious practices and ceremonial Giveaways in the late 1880s. In addition to these legislated amendments to the Indian Act which included penalties of fines and imprisonment, many "informal" methods were used to undermine ceremonial life. In the United States, the federal regulations were in effect until the 1930s. In Canada they were not officially repealed until 1951 when a major redraft of the Canadian Indian Act occurred.

Impact Of Ceremonial Repression On Field Work

One Native reaction to religious repression was to practice ceremonies in an "underground" or secretive manner in order to avoid detection. There also grew a strong suspicion of cultural anthropologists and archaeologists who were attempting to document such activities as scientific information. Still, there were times when the Elders shared their knowledge with Western researchers in order to gain allies in their efforts to repeal the legislation or to ensure that ceremonial practices were documented for future generations should the repressive measures prove successful. Dr. David Mandelbaum, for example, was allowed to record traditional Sun Dances among the Plains Cree for these reasons, as was W.J. Hoffman who recorded the Midewewin among the Chippewa (Ojibway).

In spite of the openness on the part of some groups to have their ceremonies recorded, however, people became generally suspect of anthropological researchers. They often refused to provide information on sacred matters and, in some cases, deliberately misinformed researchers. This reticence to allowing scholars to document ceremonial beliefs and practices persists to this day. Although social scientists may be permitted to view or participate in certain ceremonial activities, generally they are not permitted to take photographs, tape ceremonies, engage in scientific interviews, or document their observations in writing.

Moreover, serious students of Native religions are expected to receive the information in traditionally acceptable ways. These require much commitment and a willingness to acquire information through oral teachings in a highly personalized manner in a space and time-frame determined by the teachers. Specific information that the researcher might have acquired as to certain practices is also not available for public lectures or publication unless the group concerned is first consulted. These terms of study vary from individual to individual and from community to community.

Antiquity And Historical Use Of Tie Creek

Archaeologists studying the Tie Creek site have attributed the lack of historical documentation of these petroforms to their prehistoric antiquity and to the fact that they were not used within the time frame of the memory of present-day Native peoples. Furthermore, archaeologists conducting fieldwork in the area to date have not been able to determine the age or the cultural affiliation of the sites through the examination of physical evidence or interviews. The two researchers most involved with the recording of these sites, Dr. Anthony Buchner of the Historic Resources Branch and Dr. Jack Steinbring of the University of Winnipeg, have pointed out the difficulties of ascribing dates and affiliation in their various reports. Buchner (1988:9-10) has indicated, there is *"no reliable method of estimating age"*, and that *"...features only a few decades old may acquire the lichen and moss growth usually associated with prehistoric features and of course, stones with ancient lichen patches on them may be used to build features at any time"*.

Another factor hindering the identification and interpretation of the content of these sites is the lack of a scientific procedure for the authentication of the features. This situation is further complicated by the natural, accidental, or deliberate modification of the petroforms. New petroforms were also created, some of which originated as part of the activities carried on by Cubs and Boy Scouts in "nature lore" programs. Therefore, as Buchner indicates, some of the petroform sites have been "polluted". The petroforms located at Bannock Point are typical examples of these types of disturbances.

Identification is also limited to our own Western notions of what constitutes a particular identifiable feature. That is, the existence of certain formations or connections between formations (and the natural environment) may not be obvious to the Western researcher because his or her visual perception is "culture-bound."

Cultural affiliation has similarly eluded archaeologists. In articles on the Tie Creek Site, Dr. Jack Steinbring (1970:264, 1980) stated that investigations did not reveal any evidence of human occupation. Evidence available from Elders and reports on sacred site use in the United States attributes the absence of human activity in such locations to the traditional practice of keeping sacred grounds "clean", that is, free from human debris. Efforts to conduct interviews with Ojibway informants also did not provide any conclusive information as to affiliation, although some of those contacted either had heard of the Tie Creek and Bannock Point sites or may have visited them. Comparative studies of ethnographic data also have not produced any conclusive linking between the present Anishinabe and the petroforms. Steinbring and other researchers, while noting similarities to Ojibway pictographic recordings on rock outcrops or birch bark scrolls, have ascribed only a tentative cultural designation in the broad category of "Algonkian-related". Two researchers who have attempted to examine the linkages between the tradition of "rock painting" and Ojibwa material culture is Brenda McGhee Lipsett (1970) and Grace Rajnovich (1989). No similar study exists to date on the petroforms.

Cultural Factors Influencing Communication Of Information

The lack of the identification of the location of sacred sites and their use by historic groups who frequented or resided in the vicinity of the study area can be attributed partially to the traditional manner in which such knowledge is appropriately communicated. Although the researcher's sincerity and respect might be evident to those who have such knowledge, a declaration of honourable intent may be insufficient. Some Elders feel that sacred knowledge must be earned in a traditional manner - in other words, one must be spiritually worthy to receive such information. This earning process includes certain types of spiritual preparation, a demonstrated commitment to learn, and a willingness to accept the responsibility for using such information for the well-being of the human community. This instruction in sacred teachings generally occurs in another dimension, that is, on a spiritual level of time and space. The timing and location are culturally determined by the Ojibway Elders and ceremonialists. Few researchers have been willing or able to take on such demanding responsibilities as observer-participants.

In addition, many Elders and shamans have been reluctant to speak about their knowledge or experiences to scientific researchers from the Western tradition, especially if they involve "altered states of consciousness" (such as trance) and journeys to the spiritual dimension. As one anthropologist (Kalweit 1988:244) has stated, in some instances:

> *"...it is not that the shaman considers it sacrilegious to speak of such matters to strangers or the non-initiated, nor that he cannot remember what he experienced in his trance; the reason is much more likely that he simply cannot find the words to describe what he has seen. At best he will use descriptions handed down within his culture, but these in themselves are once again no more than categorizations of that which cannot be categorized".*

In other cases, certain types of knowledge cannot be communicated to the uninitiated. For example, while we may have documented the physical manifestations (structures, ceremonial items, songs, behaviour) of sacred belief systems and ceremonial practices such as those associated with the Midewewin Society of the Ojibway, only the formally taught and initiated have access to the sacred knowledge. In these instances sacred knowledge is not available to either the Native or non-Native general public, nor even to the total membership of the Midewewin, all of whom would not be at the same level of learning (degrees). This situation also applies to certain healing rituals and other ceremonies.

There is also the belief that if certain types of sacred information are made available to the general public, harm may come to both the informant as well as to those who have received such information inappropriately. For example, in his report on the pictographs, Dr. Steinbring (1978:7) wrote:

> *"On occasion I have become suspicious about rather abrupt denials by certain informants. In November of 1972, I interviewed ..... at the Jackhead Reserve in the Manitoba Interlake. He vigorously admonished me to refrain even thinking about the rock paintings. Such, he said,*

> *might cause me to "go crazy." It was an honest and well meant warning; the power of these strange figures could have a very damaging effect."*

Finally, identification of sites associated with documented or new petroforms is problematical. This reticence of the Elders or ritual leaders to reveal the location of sacred sites is due to past religious repression as well as the traditional practice of keeping certain locations "secret" from non-participants. Therefore, secrecy is used to protect the sites from being disturbed by non-Natives as well as to protect members of the Native community who would not normally have been allowed on the site without the approval of the Elders. As in other areas of the world, such as Australia, the locations of indigenous sacred sites are often not disclosed unless the sites are threatened.

Relevance To The Present Study

In summary, all of the above-mentioned historical and cultural factors have had an impact on the present study. Given the fact that no Native informants to date have provided researchers with extensive information related to the origins or use of the Tie Creek Basin area, any evidence regarding its historical occupation or use will be invaluable. If such information exists, it will be obtained only if the Elders are approached in a "traditionally respectful" manner. Even this method will not guarantee that the researchers will be given all of the information, or that they will be able to communicate everything that they have learned to a more general audience. Hopefully, the level of information made available through this study can be communicated to the public through an interpretive centre developed and operated by the Anishinabe.

EVIDENCE RELATING TO THE HISTORY AND USE OF THE TIE CREEK BASIN AREA

Information in this section is taken from files in the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature, Historic Resources Branch, from Katherine Pettipas, and from published sources.

Cecil Patterson Correspondence

Intrigued with the meaning of the Tie Creek site and "boulder mosaics" in general, the late Mr. Cecil Patterson, District Forester with the Forest Service, Department of Mines and Natural Resources attempted in the early 1950s to contact local people regarding their knowledge of these sites. The detailed chronology of the contents of this correspondence is provided in Appendix 2. The two most important documents relating to this study associate the petroform sites with traditional healing ceremonies. These are highlighted below.

In a letter dated October 14, 1958 to Mr. Hartwell Bowsfield of the Historic Sites Advisory Board, Cecil Patterson reiterated his history of attempts to contact locals for information as follows:

> *"Having been very interested in Indian lore and artifacts since boyhood, I attempted to find the history of these Mosaics and in my search learned that an old Indian at Black River, who is over one hundred years old, had visited the area of these Mosaics with his father and could remember (this was in 1956) events of 95 years before. I received a letter from him as interpreted and written by Chief George Barker. The letter is a museum item but dealt only lightly with three big Indian Celebration points, one on the Winnipeg River, one at Berens River and one at Drummond Point, Black Island. I wrote again to Chief Barker, requesting that he further question the ancient Indian on the Whiteshell Mosaics, which he did. Mr. Harold Wells, Supervisor of Registered Traplines, in the area at the time, picked up the second letter and forwarded it to me. I then forwarded a copy to Dr. Leechman of the Ottawa Museum."*

In a document identified as a "Copy", addressed from H. Wells, Lac du Bonnet, November 6, 1952, the following information was related:

> *"George Barker Chief of the Hollow Water Band said to me recently, that he had made special enquiries of the oldsters of his band concerning these Mosaics and (one man of which is reputed to be around a hundred years old) this is what was learned - (the name Joe Black has been written in ink here).*
>
> 1. *These Mosaics were known to all the old people, that is their general location, and the general nature of this special place and what was there (the stones).*
>
> 2. *These Mosaics and the plateau on which the site stands were used exclusively by the Medicine Men (The Grand Medicine Society of the Ojibwas) and ordinary members of the band were not allowed to go there. (No one would think of going there, as it was said anyone crossing the "ground" would not live long afterwards).*
>
> 3. *The Medicine men of all degrees, and their apprentices, from all the bands around the country (Algonkins) went to the "place" once a year and made "Medicine." They got "Medicine" out of the stones. They opened the larger stones and got out medicine.*
>
> 4. *After the "Spiritual Exercises" [sic] at the Mosaics the Medicine Men returned to their respective bands and held the "Medicine Dance" in which all the band members participated. Drummond Point was one of the places where such medicine dances were held."*

On June 18, 1960, Mr. Frank Hall presented a talk on the boulder mosaics at the opening of the Nutimik Museum in the Whiteshell. In his comments on this lecture, Dr. Jack Steinbring (1980:239) stated the following:

> *"Mr. Hall mentioned the controversies over the dating of the sites ..... and gave what appeared to be a confirmed cultural association*

> *through data from an Ojibwa informant. Mr. Hall reported that Old Joe Black of the Hole River Band (Wanipigow) had explained, through an interpreter, the use of the "mosaics" in Ojibwa magico-medical activities. On further inquiry we learn that Mr. C. Patterson had collected, through an interpreter, some data from Mr. Black on the Mitaywin (or Grand Medicine Society). This was in 1952, only a year or so before Joe Black died at the age of 100. It is not certain, because of the problems of translation, if Mr. Black was referring to the common placement of three "medicine stones" in Mitaywin and other Ojibwa medical ritual, or if he was referring to actual effigy arrangements. The latter is very doubtful, and it* *is* *certain that his remarks pertained to the Hole River area only, and probably to Black Island itself where the Mitaywin was last celebrated in 1926."*

After reviewing all of the correspondence in question, and convinced that Patterson was being specific in his requests from Barker (including a map of Tie Creek which accompanied the second request), I have concluded that Black was indeed referring to the boulder mosaics in the Tie Creek Area Study. For further information on this topic, see Steinbring (1970:231), Pettipas (1988:3) and Hall (1960:14-16).

Katherine Pettipas Files

While on a visit to the Tie Creek and Bannock Point sites with several people associated with the Three Fires Society, ________________ an Elder and healer (also Thirst Dance ritualist and Second Degree Mide) related the following information on September 24, 1987:

> ________________ had an intimate knowledge of the site and would visit the location during a period when he worked on cutting roads in the area in the 1940s.
>
> ________________ identified a feature consisting of a large boulder on which a smaller rock had been positioned. He indicated that this feature (located well away from the fenced-off Tie Creek petroforms themselves) was the Doorway to the site (the spiritual dimension). Before we entered the area, we stopped at this feature. Using the small rock, __________ struck the boulder four times and indicated that he was able to hear "drums" respond. A prayer was offered and tobacco was left in a small hollow located in the boulder.
>
> In conversation with me, ________________ commented on the age of the petroforms, stating that they had been placed there "after the Whitemen had arrived." The stones had been placed there by the spirits.
>
> Embedded in a rock plateau immediately to the north of the Doorway were a number of indentations or "footprints" - these were identified as Mesabe's Footprints (Mesabe is the Forest Spirit who provides protection for those travelling in the area).

> While on location at the Tie Creek petroforms, a tobacco offering was left at one of the boulders (red in coloration). Of all the rocks it was the warmest to the touch. It was believed by ______ __'s wife that the rock definitely had healing properties.

> ________________ related that the Shaking Tent ceremonies were held at this location and that the power of the shamans was so strong that the poles for the shaking tent were driven down into the rock bed.

> _______________ indicated that a struggle between the forces of "Good" and "Evil" were depicted at the site and were represented by a "Gold" (Good) and "Silver" (Bad) snake facing one another.

> Finally, ____________ noted that, at one time, healing waters which were used in the ceremonies were located nearby although the natural water systems had been disturbed by flooding.

The following account was recorded from one Elder during a series of interviews in 1988 with Elders from Fort Alexander by local researchers who were contracted by the museum to collect information on astronomical phenomena for a Planetarium Show:

> *"The Indian people were given special gifts. I will talk about the medicine men and their gifts. When a child was young, if they had a dream or vision (it) was followed up later when they became an adult. We still have evidence here in the Whiteshell area where they did their medicine ceremonies. These petroforms are actually figures of the beings guardian spirits. They came from all over. They had a long house here where they would work on their medicine. This was their midi lodge."*

At Tie Creek the alignment of stones which has been referred to as a type of lodge formation (see Figure 4 in Part 1 of this report), would tend to support this suggestion. We know very little about the specific types of lodges that were used in connection with the Midewewin ceremonies, and certainly there was more than one type. For example, in her ethnography of the Chippewa (Ojibway) on the Lac Courte Oreille Reservation, Wisconsin, Sister M. Inez Hilger (1951:56) described the interior of one of the lodges (6 1/2 feet in height and consisting of 2 rows of 11 saplings each) in June 1935 as follows:

> *"Down the middle in the interior was a row of 20 stones, each about 6 inches in diameter set about 4 feet apart. The entire row was skirted by a path. Outside the wigwam and a little distance to the side of one end was a stone of unusual contour and bordering it, a thin outline of red clay resembling a turtle. Wherever the contour of the stone permitted, a pinch of tobacco had been placed. The Midewiwin had been celebrated in this wigwam in May 1935."*

It should also be noted that these ceremonial lodges generally have a long central pole suspended from the top of the lodge and running the full length of the lodge. This pole not only represents life's journey, but also is used to suspend spiritual offerings. In the petroforms, this journey may be represented by a line of rocks. Such linear paths are also used to demarcate the migration route of the Anishinabe and the Midewewin.

There has also been some suggestion as to the relationship of the main linear structure at Tie Creek with the Ghost Midewewin Lodge, but this identification would have to be verified with the Elders. The fact that the structure is aligned in a North-South direction rather than an East-West orientation has led to this conclusion. Its relationship with other structures in the area also may indicate this function (see drawings in Appendix 3). It should also be noted that even in ceremonies involving the Midewewin proper, there are usually two lodges in use, particularly when initiation ceremonies are involved. This also holds true for the Ghost Midewewin.

George Barker

George Barker, Cecil Patterson's major contact with local people, published a book in 1979 entitled, Forty Years a Chief, in which reference is made to the Midewewin as well as to the function of "boulder mosaics." The following details have been documented in the chapter entitled "Medicine Dance."

Barker noted that although the Midewewin *"has been a revered ritual among the Indians for centuries. This is held only rarely these days, if at all."* He states that the last known site for such ceremonies was at Drumming Point located at the northern end of Black Island on Lake Winnipeg. The "head medicine man" at this particular ceremony was David Black or "Kakeivepit." Barker attended this ceremony and participated as a helper.

Barker noted that the Midewewin *"was held during the early summer months, long before modern civilization."* Its main purpose was *"a healing one"* and *"new medicine men were ordained at this time, who would then be given the power to heal the sick."* Barker pointed out that the ceremony had changed through the years.

With reference to the duration of the Midewewin, Barker noted that the ceremonies lasted for eight days *"from sunrise to sunset."* He described the associated ceremonial structures as follows:

> *"There was much preparation. A special shelter was erected, facing east and covered with birch bark. It was about 48 feet long and 12 feet wide. Another enclosure was built close by, of the same length and six feet high, but without a roof. It was in here that the actual ceremonies were conducted. In the centre of this second enclosure was a big square pillar and a large boulder. This was the place of honour, where the head medicine man sat .... On top of the square pillar was a carved king-fisher, which also faced east. This bird would revolve with the sun as it moved east to west."*

With reference to the location of ceremonies, Barker wrote that there were medicine men on other reserves including Jackhead, Bloodvein River, Fort

Alexander, and Scanterbury. And *"when the time came, it was always the head medicine man who decided in which area the Medicine Dance would be held."* This leader *"... would send his servants to the other reserves to pick up their head medicine men."*

In addition to testifying to the healing properties of the herbs used by medicine people, Barker also commented on the use of stones in the healing process:

> *"A row of stones, placed from smallest to largest, was often used to aid the medicine man. These formed snakes of various lengths. The sick person was laid beside the snake, which would then begin to move. Often this resulted in a cure. The stones also sometimes became turtles. The rows of rocks, and those which formed snakes and turtles, would move while the Medicine Dance was in progress. At the end of one row of stones, four rocks were placed to form a square. When the dancers came to square, they would dance around it, making strange guttural sounds."*

Of the Shaking Tent ceremony, Barker wrote:

> *"If a person was dangerously ill, he was taken to a special tent, called Shaking Tent, and laid in the centre of it. The medicine man would call upon the spirits to send a specific animal to their aid. This was done by what we called conjuring. I have seen the head medicine man going into the tent to ask Manitou to help him find the animal needed to cure the sick person. When he knew, a hunter would be sent for that particular animal. The pelt was sprinkled with medicine, and rubbed on the naked body of the patient, and as surely as the sun rises on the horizon, the sick person was cured."*

Barker also mentioned the use of the Sweat Lodge or the Matotawin at the ceremonies which involved the heating of stones.

Finally, Barker documented the different locations for the performance of the Midewewin, including the Whiteshell area. He also referred to the relationship of the boulder mosaics or petroforms to the Midewewin:

> *"There were many locations besides Black Island where the Midewiwin was held. These included Kenora, Lac Seul and the Whiteshell. I urge those of you who have the opportunity, to visit one of these areas. Approximately one-half mile east of the Whiteshell River there is a sign which tells you of this sacred place. You will still see some of the rocks that represented snakes and turtles."*

The latter reference is to Bannock Point where a historic interpretive plaque had been erected.

A.I. Hallowell

Little information is available on the use of rocks in healing practices among Algonkian groups with the exception of their function in Midewewin ceremonies, in Sweat Lodge ceremonies, and as "personal medicines" which are used to access spiritual power. In an article written by anthropologist A.I. Hallowell (1960) entitled "Ojibwa Ontology, Behaviour, and World View", Ojibway from the East side of Lake Winnipeg were questioned about the nature of rocks. One contact stated that he believed that some rocks were "alive" and others were not - those that were animate could not move on their own volition, but rather, were moved through Mide-related powers. Hallowell (1960:363) further pointed out that *"associated with the Midewiwin in the past were other types of boulders with animate properties."*

The association of such rocks with Midewewin practitioners is evident in the following case in point as related by Hallowell (1960:363):

> *"My friend Chief Berens had one of these (animate boulders) but it no longer possessed these attributes. It had contours that suggested eyes and mouth. When Yellow Legs, Chief Beren's great-grandfather, was a leader of the Midewiwin he used to tap this stone with a new knife. It would then open its mouth, Yellow Legs would insert his fingers and take out a small leather sack with medicine in it. Mixing some of this medicine with water, he would pass the decoction around. A small sip was taken by those present."*

In a footnote, Hallowell (1960:387) described how the function and the general location of the stone were revealed to Yellow Legs. Yellow Legs had received information regarding the powers of the stone through a dream: *"its precise location was revealed to him. He sent two other Indians to get it. These men, following directions, found the stone on Birch Island, located in the middle of Lake Winnipeg, some thirty miles south of the Beren's River"*.

Sir Alexander Mackenzie

In 1793, Sir Alexander MacKenzie referred to a "boulder site" near the Lac du Bonnet area on the Winnipeg River. In Voyages from Montreal Through the Continent of North America, MacKenzie (1911:109-110) wrote: *"This portage is near half a league in length and derives its name from the custom the Indians have of crowning stones, laid in a circle on the highest rock of the portage, with wreaths of herbage and branches"*.

Thomas McKenney

Reference to the use of boulder formations in association with ceremonies is also made in the journal of Thomas McKenney, published as Sketches of a Tour to the Lakes. In his journal entry of September 2, 1826 at Thunder Bay, Lake Huron, McKenney (1972:330-331) wrote:

> *"...feeling some anxiety to see the manito, I went in company with the interpreter to the spot where the Indian had told us it was to be found. It was about one hundred yards from our encampment, and forty steps from the beach, in a thicket of pine and spruce, and aspen. The place is cleared of all kinds of under-growth, and is of an oval figure, about twenty feet by ten, in the longest, and broadest parts. In the centre of it are about twenty stones, four of which are larger than the rest; and each of these, I should judge, would measure three feet every way. The path leading to this sacred place is well trod by those who come to make their offerings to this pile of stones, which is the manito! Upon the four principal stones were the offerings of these benighted people, in tobacco, bits of iron, pieces of kettles, pipes, and various other things. The four large stones the Indians said had been there always, and the little ones had gathered round them since.*
>
> *These offerings were made to secure the pleasure of this god, and to obtain from him the favour of a fair wind, and protection in making the traverse of Thunder Bay!*
>
> *One more word about the manito. It is true there is no impression of the foot of Buddou here; no brazen enclosure, and no gems, mean or costly, to enrich the place; and no streamers to attract attention to the spot, and to ornament it; nor is it surrounded with rhododendron, but it is with the cedar, the poplar, and the aspen, and the spot sacred! Nor does an Indian ever think of passing without stopping to make the customary offerings. But there is no contrivance here, no superior wisdom, to deceive and extort from the superstitious the pittance they may have laboriously earned. It is the place of the Indians' own selection, and sanctified by their own belief in the power and justice of the deity who, in their opinion, resides there. Nor do they impoverish themselves by laying down costly presents; nothing more is required but a little tobacco, for they believe their manito loves to smoke - knives, and pipes, and bits of old iron, and these procure they think the approbation of their god, and insure the exercise of his power for their safety and welfare."*

It should be noted that the "clearing of the undergrowth" at the site referred to in the above citation is also typical of areas in which sweat lodges are located. The location of other sacred sites on naturally "clean" areas such as plateaus of bedrock (such as that found at Tie Creek and Bannock Point, as well as other locations of petroforms) is in keeping with this ceremonial pattern.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Significance of the Petroform Sites in the Whiteshell Area.

From the Anishinabe (Midewewin) Understanding

From information received in discussions with *Terrance Nelson*, the spokesperson for the Pembina Anishinabe, and others, the petroforms located both within and outside the boundaries of Whiteshell Provincial Park are sacred in nature. Not only are the petroforms themselves sacred, but the areas surrounding these features are equally sacred.

According to the Midewewin Elders and ceremonial leaders, the heart or centre of the series of petroforms is located at what is known as the Tie Creek site. This complex of petroforms contains the teaching of how Original Man first came to receive the instructions of the Midewewin. This place is known as *Manito* *Ahbee* (Where God Sits) and is the *Genesis of the Midewewin* in Manitoba. Other petroforms, including the complex at Bannock Point and isolated features located near rapids or at lake portages, are directly related to the Tie Creek site. These are equally significant in the functions they perform and in the teachings that they hold. The manner in which these sites are linked are not specifically documented in the present study. There is reason to believe, however, that the linkages are present and that this information may be shared with researchers on a general level in the future.

It is also evident that the areas surrounding the petroforms contain important associated features and spiritual attributes. Therefore, we should not view the petroforms as isolated phenomena. In addition to the possible discovery of other petroforms in the area under study, a number of these features and site characteristics have come to light. These include:

- Naturally-occurring features such as the boulders which constitute the "Doorway" to the Tie Creek sites proper (fenced area); Mesabe's Footprints in the bedrock; as well as others which have yet to be identified;
- Medicinal plant communities and healing waters in the Whiteshell; and
- The natural "energy" of the Tie Creek area, which is inherent in the petroforms themselves and the bedrock on which they are located.

Research into the relationship between natural energy forces and the location of sacred sites around the world is presently being conducted by those in the fields of religious studies, anthropology, and by some scholars in the natural sciences. Their findings have been summarized by one environmental psychologist, Dr. James Swan (1986:30) as follows:

> *"... many people (report) that at sacred places they feel more energy of some kind. Research now shows that when we enter into a strong electromagnetic field, in time our inner bioelectrical processes harmonize with the outer fields. This adaptation is called biological "entrainment". It is possible that for some reason there are unusually strong environmental field conditions at some sacred places, facilitating access to certain transcendent states of consciousness?"*

At least one individual who accompanied me and Leo Pettipas to the Tie Creek site in 1988 has commented upon the attributes of the site in similar terms. He observed that the energy sources were inherent in the types of minerals contained in the rocks. This phenomenon is characteristic of other power spots or sacred places throughout the world, both Christian and non-Christian. According to the same individual, certain types of bedrock not only possess healing functions but also were used in a practical way. Some families who used the Whiteshell area for hunting, fishing and gathering were known to dry their butchered meat on the hot granite bedrock.

Thus, according to the Anishinabe understanding of the study area, the petroform sites are not scientific or heritage sites in that they are relics of some distant past. The evidence is that these areas were used on both an individual and a group basis for spiritual and healing purposes in a highly private manner. Furthermore, the teachings inherent in the petroforms are considered necessary for the present and future physical, emotional, and spiritual well-being of the Anishinabe. These sites are not unlike other sacred places around the world which are considered to possess spiritual power. Examples include Stonehenge; Lourdes; Mount Omei in China; the sacred hot springs of western North America; the rain forests of South America and the Northwest coast of North America; the Ganges River of India; the Black Hills of South Dakota; Manitoulin Island; the petroglyph sites at Peterborough, Ontario; the Northwest Coast, British Columbia; and Ayers Rock and the Clan Lands of Australian Aborigines.

From the Perspective of Social Scientists

For anthropologists and archaeologists, the petroform sites are of major scientific value as evidence of ancient forms of human expression, often referred to as rock art or boulder mosaics in the literature. The renderings of animal and human images and geometric forms through the arrangement of boulders on rock plateaus, at portages, at waterfalls and near rapids has led researchers to conclude that the petroforms were not constructed haphazardly as a type of early-period art form, but possibly had specific functions. The attribution of a religious function has been derived from the correlation of types of images with "Algonkian-like" portrayals of clan animals (turtles, snakes, fish) with other cultural symbols (the Four Directions or Grandfathers) appearing on ritual paraphernalia such as the sacred birch bark scrolls (see Appendix 3). The spiritual nature of many of these images is also important to traditional healing and other ceremonial practices such as the Shaking Tent Ceremony. Regarding the petroforms in Whiteshell Provincial Park, Dr. Jack Steinbring was quoted as saying in a newspaper article (McConnell 1985) that they were placed there "*... for some sort of ceremonial reason. They aren't going to go to all that trouble just for fun. Perhaps it's a ritual of some kind. The larger sites were probably for use by some larger group - perhaps some sort of medicine society.*"

The apparent alignment of some of the petroforms with astronomical phenomena and the cardinal directions has also led archaeologists to postulate that such sites had a religious or spiritual function. To date, however, there has been little information forthcoming regarding their true nature either from the Native communities in the area or through a comparative literature search. The exceptions are the H. Wells correspondence and George Barker's chapter on the Midewewin in his book, Forty Years a Chief (1979).

Nonetheless, from what evidence we do have, and from a comparative review of the function of such sites located in other areas of the world, I believe that there is a consensus among scientists as to the sacredness of these areas for the original people who witnessed their construction, their descendants, and other groups who might have come upon the sites by happenstance. The extent of the petroform sites in southeastern Manitoba, and their importance as a complex of spiritual teachings related to the Genesis of Midewewin enhances their international significance. For these reasons, and in anticipation of the opportunity to conduct further studies on both the known sites and those still yet to be located, Western researchers are adamant that the areas be preserved in their pristine state. To what degree the desire on the part of the Native community to have access to these same sites will compromise the interests and concern of the scientific community will have to be determined.

Problems Associated With Sacred Sites

Traditional Attitudes towards Sacred Sites

In the American Indian Religious Freedom Act Report (Department of the Interior 1979:53), traditional attitudes towards sacred lands were summarized as follows:

> *"The Native peoples of this country believe that certain areas of land are holy. These lands may be sacred, for example, because of religious events which occurred there, because they contain specific natural products, because they are the dwelling place or embodiment of spiritual beings, because they surround or contain burial grounds or because they are sites conducive to communicating with spiritual beings."*

The area designated for a ceremonial gathering may be based on a number of factors including tradition, the availability of a natural product (a particular type of plant or animal) and/or accessibility to an area. The area may also be chosen through a "ritual search".

Access to sacred lands and their products is contingent upon the preservation of as pristine (original) conditions as possible, that is, undisturbed by development or practitioners. As the Task Force Report concluded, the alteration of the land and waterways through such activities as the spraying of trees, timber cutting, overkill of natural species, hydro projects, or other developments are considered to be a desecration of the sacred lands. In addition they possibly could endanger *"... the well-being of the Native religious practitioners in their role and religious obligation as guardians and preservers of the natural character of specific land areas."* (Department of the Interior 1979:54).

Traditional Use of Sites

Traditionally, a number of religious regulations governed the access to sacred places and their use. Not all religious practitioners were, or are, necessarily entitled to the use of such areas. In the Task Force Report (Department of the Interior 1979:52), the religious beliefs regarding site use in the United States were outlined:

> *"...these laws may prescribe, for example, when and for what purposes the site may or must be visited, what ceremonies or rituals may or must take place at the site, what manner of conduct must or must not be observed at the site, who may or may not go to the site and the consequences to the individual, group, clan or tribe if the laws are not observed. The ceremonies may also require preparatory rituals, purification rites or stages of preparation. Both active participants and observers may need to be readied. Natural substances may need to be gathered. Those who are unprepared or whose behaviour or condition may alter the ceremony are often not permitted to attend. The proper spiritual atmosphere must be observed."*

Similar restrictions on the use of sacred places in the Whiteshell are evident from the accounts of George Barker of the Hollow Water Band. For example, in 1954, he stated that the petroforms and the plateau on which they are located "*... were used exclusively by the Medicine men (The Grand Medicine Society of the Ojibwas) and ordinary members of the band were not allowed to go there. No one would think of going there, as it was said anyone crossing the "ground" would not live long afterwards*" (Barker 1979:95-96). After the ceremonies at the petroforms were concluded, the medicine people returned to their communities where they held a "medicinal dance" (healing ceremonies) for their people.

There are also many variables involved in the use of any particular sacred place. Certain ceremonies might involve the construction of specific types of ceremonial structures. The length of ceremonies may vary according to their functions from less than a day to several days. The specific timing of the ceremonial gatherings are determined by the Elders in consultation with those ritualists who have the prerogative to perform ceremonies. Ceremonies may be held on a seasonal basis or once a year. Also, the number of ceremonial participants will also vary from one individual to several hundred people.

Traditional Attitudes Toward Non-Native Documentation

Historically, information on the locations or functions of sacred sites generally are not volunteered by the Elders or individual ritualists. There are several reasons for this reticence, including the need to preserve the privacy of practitioners, the desire to prevent such areas from being misused by both Native and non-Native people, and the adoption of secrecy as a form of protection. In both the United States and Australia, where an effort has been made to encourage the public and even confidential identification of sacred sites through advisory boards, Elders have been hesitant to divulge this information unless the sites are in immediate danger.

For example, anthropologist Diane Bell (1983:289) in her research paper entitled, "Sacred Sites: The Politics of Protection", made the following observation regarding the divulging of site information on the part of the Elders (custodians):

> *"... the custodians of sites only divulged as much as they thought necessary to impress the outsider with the importance of the area. That this information was incomplete and that a comprehensive study of sites should be undertaken was repeated by all those involved with site identification and protection ... This was not done, and research continued to be undertaken on an* ad hoc *basis. Once the threat became apparent to the custodians they did move to protect the sites under the Sacred Sites Act and they did request that a site survey be undertaken ... It was not that they (custodians) had set out to thwart development by withholding information in a capricious fashion but rather that, in accordance with their law, they were protecting sites by not disclosing their whereabouts because no direct threat was perceived."*

Thus, the dilemma confronting all those concerned is that the disclosure of sacred sites often does not occur until the sites are directly threatened by development. Therefore, their protection is generally dealt with in a crisis management situation.

In the course of my dealings with the Three Fires Society in its work on the Tie Creek Basin study, I would suggest that the Native community, the non-Native development planners and heritage resource personnel are in an identical conundrum. The Tie Creek situation is further complicated by the fact that there are several different interpretations of the functions of the petroforms. Whether these different interpretations would affect perceptions regarding the boundaries and content of the sacred grounds will have to be determined.

Non-Native Factors Affecting Sacred Sites Use

In its extensive survey of tribal communities, the American Indian Religious Freedom Task Force was provided with examples of factors inhibiting access to sacred lands by a number of tribes (See Appendix 4). In addition to the previously-mentioned destruction of the natural environment through commercial resource extraction, impediments noted by the Task Force included restrictions on hunting, fishing, and gathering imposed upon practitioners through federal and state legislation, and regulations regarding the location of camps, the construction of ceremonial structures and the building of fires. Finally, there was a general concern over the increase of tourist accessibility to sacred grounds, which not only threatened the need for privacy and the need to keep the grounds "clean", but also opened up the way for possible commercial exploitation of Native ceremonial life through tourism. The Task Force (Department of the Interior 1979:54) summarised these concerns as follows:

> *"...inadequate control of tourism threatens the offerings left at sacred sites and gathering areas. Often, easements across Native Lands are granted to the general public without regard to their impact upon sacred sites and the privacy of Native religious practitioners. Vandalism at holy places, especially burial sites and ruins, endangers their very existence. Rituals which require differing forms of privacy have been covertly observed, interrupted and affected throughout the presence and activities of unauthorized observers."*

With specific reference to the Tie Creek petroform site, the archaeological staff of the Historic Resources Branch are in control of public access. The area has been fenced off and secured with a lock to prevent vandals, the curious public, and snowmobilers from disturbing the petroforms. Leo Pettipas, the Chief of Archaeology, is responsible for the security of the area and has made the site accessible to scientists as well as Native traditionalists. The Parks Branch also shares in the responsibilities associated with wardship. However, this wardship role is problematic. In the first place, there are no guidelines regarding who should have access to the Tie Creek area. Secondly, the on-site supervisory presence of Historic Resources or Parks personnel is not appropriate during ceremonies. Thus, the wardship role which is considered to be necessary for the protection of the site is not always compatible with the requirements of practitioners who wish to use the area.

Accessibility to Sacred Sites in the United States

Guidelines for ensuring Native accessibility to sacred grounds were outlined by the American Indian Religious Freedom Task Force with respect to Federal lands in the United States. They recommended (Department of the Interior 1979:62) that:

- each federal agency was to "accommodate" to Native religious practices "to the fullest extent possible" under the present land and resource management policies and legislation;
- land and resource management policies and regulations be reviewed in order to accommodate "religious concerns" prior to any decision regarding the use of these resources;
- boards, commissions, and "citizen advisory groups" dealing with federal land and resource planning and management have Native representation;
- sacred sites be "reserved and protected" in areas of "special religious significance" in a similar fashion to areas of "scientific significance", and;
- allowances be made for the use of federal property and activities involving the gathering of plants by Native religious practitioners.

However, despite these recommendations and the subsequent American Indian Religious Freedom Act, land-use controversies over commercial resource extraction and development and the need to preserve the integrity of Native sacred lands have ended up in the courts. This situation has been analyzed by Dr. James Swan (1986), and is worth reviewing at this point. Much of the controversy involves questions regarding the definition of what constitutes a sacred site and a religious practice.

What Constitutes a Sacred Site?

One of the problems in determining the function of such sites concerns the establishment of proof that a location does have "sacred values". The association of such sites with evidence of human use or occupancy (artifacts as discovered by archaeologists) has generally been used as a major determinant. According to Swan, such determinants are inappropriate and, indeed, at Tie Creek itself, there is no such evidence. Swan (1986:26) offers the following explanation:

> *"Many sacred places, however, have no artifacts at all, because to have left them there would have been like littering. Moreover, artifacts are not what makes a place sacred, my Native American friends tell me; and this is a source of confusion between modern and traditional people. "Sacred places are sacred because they can help keep us more closely connected with the Great Spirit", asserts Chippewa medicine man Sun Bear."*

In his study of post-legislation court cases involving the preservation of natural sacred sites which do not have an archaeological significance, Swan discovered that the success rate of court cases for Native practitioners has been "relatively low". Court hearings demand an answer to two major questions to which answers are not always forthcoming from the traditionalists. The first question relates to the reason a site is considered to be sacred. The court generally recognizes the sacredness of a site if *"a significant part of a tribe continually uses the place for ceremonies and rituals integral to the tribal culture"*(Swan 1986:26). One traditional method of attributing a sacred nature to specific locations through dreams and visions, however, is not acceptable to the Western court system; as Swan (1986:26) states *"the argument that the sacredness of a place was revealed to an individual in a dream just doesn't hold water in court"*.

The second question relates to the way in which the courts determine what constitutes a religious practice. This decision is often made from a Western Christian ethnocentric perspective despite the testimonies of Elders and medicine people. For example, in her analysis of a case among the Navajo involving protection of the Rainbow Bridge, Kimla McDonald, Executive Director of the Sacred Lands Foundation (1986:21-22) related the following:

> *"The court, despite documentation about the uses of the site and beliefs associated with the Rainbow Bridge area compiled from the testimony of several Navajo Medicine-men, found the interests of Native Americans did not constitute "deep religious conviction, shared by an organized group and intimately related to daily living." The court interpreted the very nature of Navajo ceremonies -- that they are not only regularly scheduled, but performed only when needed or when requested by an individual or family -- as a sign of a lack of organized religious practice. The subjective qualities of sacred places for Native Americans are often difficult to translate into terms familiar to the Western legal system. It is difficult to prove the*

value of a place within a system of law based on quantifiable values and the separation of church and state."

Who Has Access to Sacred Sites?

An ongoing debate is also occurring regarding access to ceremonial grounds. Part of the problem has to do with jurisdictional considerations. In the above-mentioned case of the Rainbow Bridge of the Navajos, the court rejected claims that Navajo access would be impeded by reservoir levels needed for the upper Colorado River development plan. Furthermore, the fact that the Rainbow Bridge had been declared a national monument also had an impact on ceremonial use of the site in an exclusive manner (without general public access). As a national monument within the jurisdiction of the Federal Parks Service (and essentially, government, i.e., public property), the Parks Service could not legally exclude tourists from the area in order to protect the site for ceremonial use.

A Question of Boundaries

A third major area of contention in the American and Australian court systems is the question of site boundaries. If there are no visible physical signs of demarcation such as stone markers or a particular land formation such as an island, a mountain, or a valley, boundaries are often difficult to identify. Often large areas of land, such as a whole mountain range, valley or forest have been deemed unacceptable markers by Western government systems and developers. The situation is further complicated by the fact that the natural "buffer" zones are also intricately bound to ceremonial sites in order to ensure ceremonial privacy.

While such documentation is not available for the Tie Creek Basin area, an Australian parallel might provide some insight into the "ideology" underlying the location and relationship between the petroform sites. In her article on the issue of sacred sites and their protection in Australia, Dr. Diane Bell (1983:287) states that *"the features which are of heightened significance and may be termed 'sacred sites' are inter-related in a way which reflects Aboriginal land use patterns, ceremonial practice and the function of sites as territorial markers"*. Bell (1983:287) further states that in their land application for protection of their sites for development, the indigenous Ilpeye Association argued that *"the importance of sacred sites and the necessary protective zones around them must be regarded as an integral part of the land application because their lifestyle ...incorporates both the physical and spiritual needs as well as close affinity with the land"*. Although Australian legislation does attempt to protect specific sites as they are revealed to the government by the Elders, there is little sympathy for extensive claims such as in the case of whole valleys in which these same sites may be located. Therefore, in this instance, the argument on the government's part would be that development such as a road, could be constructed in the valley as long as specific sites remained untouched. This position would contradict the Elders' claim that the whole valley was a sacred ground.

Whether or not these same associations are applicable to Tie Creek Basin area and other petroform sites will be determined by knowledgeable Elders. One individual has suggested that this may have been the case. As previously mentioned, the identification of specific sites and their protective zones in Australia and the United States generally have been made only when development is threatening the sites. This same situation also applies to Canada.

Federal and Provincial Jurisdiction Over Sacred Sites

One of the outstanding problems with regard to the protection and use of Native sacred and heritage sites in the United States through federal legislation is that the recommendations of the Task Force are relevant only to federal lands. Thus, sites on state-owned or private property are subject to legislation which may or may not be enacted in particular states.

In Canada, there is a similar problem regarding jurisdiction over the administration of Indian Affairs. That is, the administration of Indian Affairs has historically been under the control of the Crown and later the Canadian government. Thus, Treaty Indians are often reticent to deal with provincial authorities who have no decision-making power over their affairs. One researcher who has conducted extensive work with the Anishinabe Elders on the identification and use of sacred grounds in the Peterborough area stated that the Elders insisted on having federal representatives on any advisory committee, and refused to deal solely with provincial bureaucrats. To what extent this situation affected the outcome of the present study has not been determined. However, the documentation of this dilemma is noteworthy given the location of the petroforms in the present study in a provincial park.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. That the Tie Creek Basin Area remain free from commercial resource extraction activities.

2. That efforts to document the petroforms be continued in collaboration with the appropriate Elders.

3. That an advisory committee to the Province be established in order to put in place a process by which sacred sites in the province may be identified, recorded, protected, and managed in terms of public access.

4. That a study of parallel situations with regard to sacred sites be undertaken in order to develop recommended guidelines for the preservation and use of the Tie Creek Basin and related sites.

5. That the petroforms remain protected from on-site tourist development projects.

6. That a world class heritage centre be established for the specific purpose of communicating the cultural history of the Anishinabe people of this province on a public level.

7. That a Teaching Centre under the control of the Anishinabe be located in a suitable area in order for the Anishinabe to continue to use the petroform teachings for their own spiritual purposes. A non-Native component might be made available under the direction of the Anishinabe as a means to educate those members of the general public who have a sincere interest in acquiring a greater understanding of Native spirituality and lifestyle.

8. That The Heritage Resources Act not be invoked in the instance of the petroform sites located in the Whiteshell, since the question of boundaries has been difficult to establish.

9. That consideration be given to revising existing heritage legislation to deal effectively with those cases where boundaries of sacred sites can be clearly defined.

10. That an effort be made to address the situation at Bannock Point where the petroforms have been disturbed. This may involve the reconstruction of the site or certain aspects of the site under the guidance of appropriate Elders. The problems inherent in uncontrolled public accessibility will have to be addressed.

REFERENCES CITED

Barker, George. Forty Years a Chief. Winnipeg: Peguis Publishers, 1979.

Bell, Diane. "Sacred Sites: The Politics of Protection". In Nicolas Peterson and Marcia Langton, eds. Aborigines, Land and Land Rights. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, 1983, pp. 278-293.

Buchner, Anthony. "The 1973 Rock Art Studies at the Tie Creek Site: A Preliminary Report." In Studies in Manitoba Rock Art, I: Petroforms. Papers in Manitoba Archaeology, Miscellaneous Paper No. 2. Winnipeg: Department of Tourism, Recreation and Cultural Affairs, Historic Resources Branch, 1976, pp. 10-22.

__________. "Archaeo-Astronomical Investigations of the Petroform Phenomenon of Southeastern Manitoba." In Leo Pettipas, ed. Directions in Manitoba Prehistory: Papers in Honour of Chris Vickers. Winnipeg: Association of Manitoba Archaeologists and the Manitoba Archaeological Society, 1980, pp. 89-109.

__________. "The 1988 Petroform Mapping Project." Report prepared for the Historic Resources Branch, Manitoba Culture, Heritage and Recreation, Winnipeg 1988, pp. 1-10.

Danziger, E. and R. Callaghan. "The Southeastern Manitoba Petroforms: Assessment of an Expanded Sample." In Studies in Manitoba Rock Art, I: Petroforms, Second Edition. Papers in Manitoba Archaeology, Miscellaneous Paper No. 14. Winnipeg: Department Cultural Affairs and Historical Resources, 1983, pp. 57-173.

Dewdney, Selwyn. The Sacred Scrolls of the Southern Ojibway. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975.

Hall, Frank. "Medicine on the Rocks: The Strange Tale of Ojibwa Mosaics." The Bison, Vol. 13, No. 2, 1960, pp. 14-16.

Hallowell, A. Irving. "Ojibwa Ontology, Behaviour and World View." In Contributions to Ethnology: Selected Papers of A. Irving Hallowell. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976, pp. 357-90.

Hilger, Sister Inez. Chippewa Child Life and its Cultural Background. Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 146. Washington: 1951.

Lamb, W. Kay, ed. The Journals and Letters of Sir Alexander Mackenzie. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970.

Mackenzie, Sir Alexander. Voyages from Montreal Through the Continent of North America. Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1911.

McConnell, Wanda. "Whiteshell Petroforms Site of Indian Rituals. Winnipeg Free Press, Saturday, 15 June 1985.

McDonald, Kimla. "Living Earth: Protecting Sacred Places in the American Southwest. Shaman's Drum, No.7, Winter (1986), pp. 19-23.

McKenney, Thomas. Sketches of a Tour of the Lakes. Barre: Imprint Society, 1972

Pettipas, Leo. "The Whiteshell Petroforms: The Ojibway Connection." Unpublished Paper, 1987, pp. 1-8.

Rajnovich, Grace. "Visions in the Quest for Medicine: An Interpretation of the Indian Pictographs of the Canadian Shield." Midcontinental Journal of Archaeology, Vol. 14, No. 2, (1989), pp. 179-225.

Steinbring, Jack. "The Tie Creek Boulder Site of Southeastern Manitoba." In Walter Hlady, ed. Ten Thousand Years: Archaeology in Manitoba. Winnipeg: Manitoba Archaeological Society, 1970, pp. 223-268.

__________. "Boulder Art in Eastern Manitoba." In Studies in Manitoba Rock Art, I: Petroforms. Papers in Manitoba Archaeology, Miscellaneous Paper, No. 2. Winnipeg: Historic Resources Branch, Department of Tourism, Recreation and Cultural Affairs, 1976, pp. 1-7.

__________. An Introduction to Archaeology on the Winnipeg River. Papers in Manitoba Archaeology, Miscellaneous Paper No. 9. Winnipeg: Historic Resources Branch, Department of Cultural Affairs and Historical Resources, 1980.

Sutton, Richard. "The Whiteshell Boulder Mosaics." Manitoba Archaeological Newsletter, Vol. 2, No. 1, (1965), pp. 2-11.

Swan, James. "Sacred Places: Can Traditional Wisdom and Science Support Each Other?" Shaman's Drum, No. 7, Winter, (1986), pp. 24-32.

U.S. Department of the Interior. American Indian Religious Freedom Act Report P.L. 95-341. Washington: August, 1979.

APPENDIX 1

Newspaper Reports of the Discovery of the Tie Creek Petroforms in 1934 Reflect Prevalent Attitudes Towards Native Religions

4 THE WINNIPEG EVENING TRIBUNE. SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1934

Museum Party Discovers Unique Boulder Temple Of Pagan Ojibwa Tribe

Turtle and Serpent, Rudely Fashioned in Stone, Face Each Other in Age-Old Battle Between Good and Evil—Crude Designs Don't Even Suggest Architecture of Stonehenge.

What is believed to be an outdoor boulder temple of the once-pagan Ojibwa tribe—the only shrine of its kind found in the Americas—has been discovered in the White Shell forest reserve by an exploring party from the Auditorium Museum association. The crude lines of great boulders, arranged in geometric designs are moss-covered and evidently date back to days before the white men came to America.

There is nothing in the crudely-arranged lines of stones to even remotely suggest the expert stone age workmen who built Stonehenge in England or to suggest that they are the work of a vanished race belonging to archaeological times.

To Protect Site

A representative of The Winnipeg Tribune accompanied the museum party and, by agreement, the location will not be announced until the Manitoba and Ottawa governments have perfected plans to protect this historic site from vandals and despoilers seeking relics and souvenirs.

The party found a serpent and a turtle—Indian symbols of evil and good, destruction and protection, respectively — rudely fashioned in boulders, the creatures, apparently by design, facing each other in the age-old conflict between light and darkness. A few feet away a boulder, chosen because of its rough resemblance to a human head, probably, represents a Deity or mankind, watches the drama in stone.

A Ritualistic Temple?

The Winnipeg explorers also found great boulders—some of them more than a ton in weight—set in rectangles, circles and other geometric designs, the whole overgrown with grey, brittle moss. The moss is testimony that the six or seven acres in the boulder-temple area had been designed and dedicated to Indian pagan religious rites, or to degree work in an Indian freemasonry which existed probably before Columbus discovered this continent.

The personnel of the Auditorium party included W. H. Rand, curator of the Auditorium Museum, and Mr. and Mrs. P. H. Stokes. B. W. Cartwright, Tribune naturalist, went as invited guest, taking his camera along. The guide was a settler in the country, who gave Mr. Rand the first story of the fantastic boulder temple. His identity is suppressed until plans for the protection of the area have been completed.

Novitiates for Priesthood

The site on which the stone serpent and turtle are in symbolic conflict is about 2¼ miles from that of the temple proper. Each is on a high outcrop of red granite. The adventurers through the intervening jungle of windfall trees said that the terrain contained a definite suggestion that the good must vanquish the evil before entering the boulder temple.

The Ojibwas, in whose historic hunting grounds of the bushlands the area lies, had a strong Medewiwin, or medicine, or priestly cult. Students of Indian history are already reading into the discovery of this boulder temple the suggestion that it was here that novitiates for this pagan priesthood went to college and learned the lore which carried them through the four degrees of their craft.

Dominate Indian Tribes

The guide, after a progress of many miles over water and portage, brought his party first to the serpent-turtle site. This imagery dominates Indian culture across the plateaus and plains of both the Americans, from the sun-worshippers of Peru to the Ojibwa lands of the Central Canadian timber belt. To the day the Hopi and Zuni Indians of South-western North America have their snake dances in which they demonstrate through the dance the final triumph of friendly over evil forces.

That is why the serpent-turtle stone constructions deep in the woods of Eastern Manitoba, crude though they be, indicate how powerful and widespread the serpent-turtle cult once was on this continent. But the native Indians of today have apparently utterly forgotten this temple and its, to them, stately ritual.

The rambling boulder temple covers six or seven acres. It is on high red granite outcrop. The great boulders are arranged in sinuous lines radiating from a central rectangle of placed boulders which is 130 by 36 feet with a line of boulders descending from the top centre of the rectangle for 45 feet and continuing to the bottom after a short break.

This was apparently the central congregating point in the mass of designs called into use under the ritual. On the left there was a small circle of extra large stones. This was connected with a design which suggested the beneficent turtle, made in flat stones. A particularly long and sinuous line of boulders led round a clump of trees to an adjacent plateau of granite outcrop on which was a large circle of stones with an arrow-shaped central design.

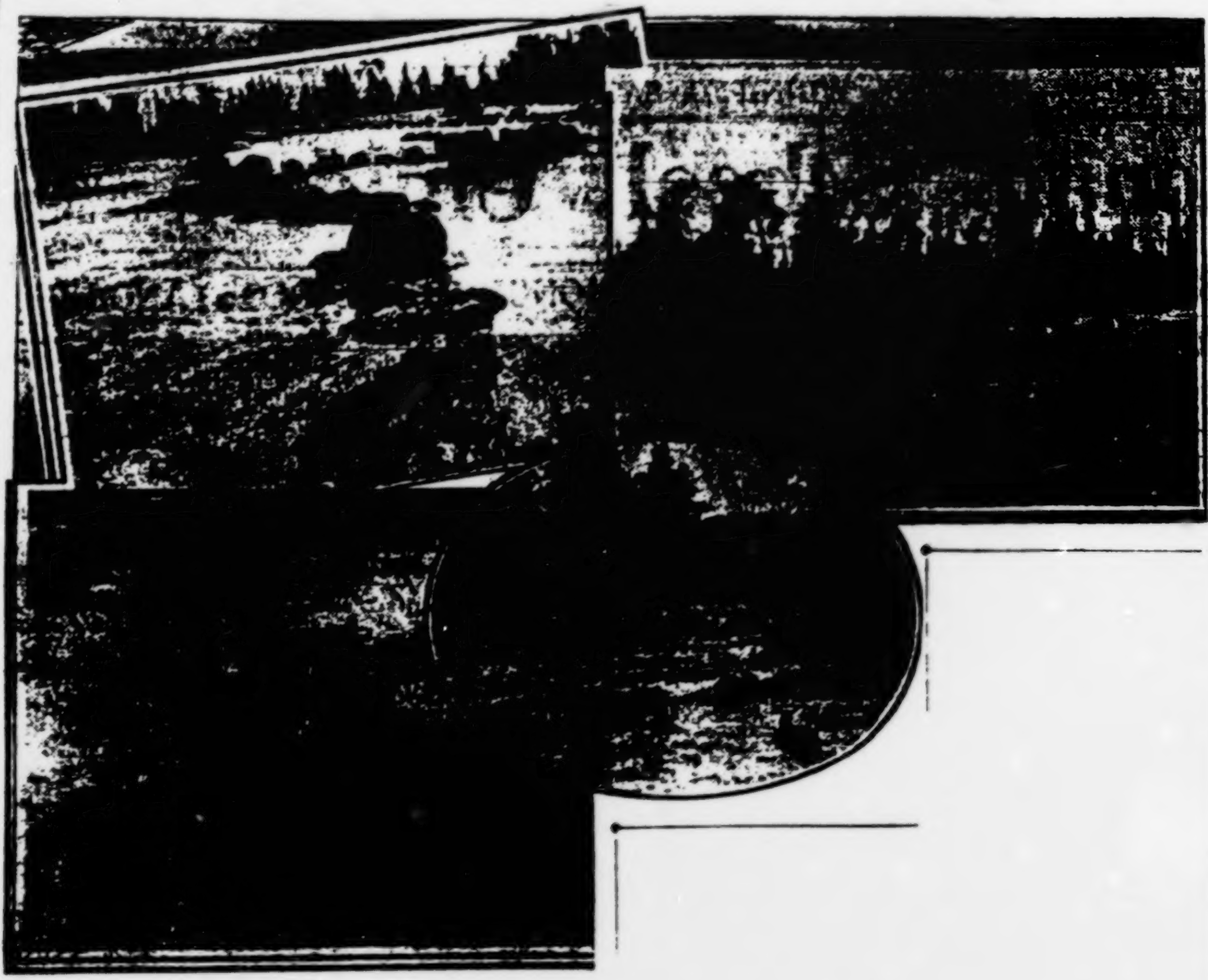
Sacred, Secret Rendezvous

The Winnipeg party made careful measurements of the area and believed they were standing on what had been for many forgotten years a secret and sacred rendezvous of painted and plumed savages, who, with tomohawk and bowie knife in hand, had danced and sang of their own racial and religious lore for their tribal inspiration, while in the centre, perhaps, squatted tom-tom beaters and exalted medicine men, whose business it was to conserve the proud traditions of spirited tribes.

Plans are already afoot to take aerial photographs of the area so as to gain an adequate "ground-plan" of the temple's design. The area will soon be adequately protected against damage by vandal or careless visitors, and, it is expected, the governments of Manitoba and Canada will unite plans to have every detail studied by best available students of Indian life. Members of the museum party feel that their discovery is unique, and that perhaps it will open a new chapter in the story of the aboriginal tribes of this continent.

4 THE WINNIPEG EVENING TRIBUNE. SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1934

UNIQUE OUT-DOOR CATHEDRAL OF OJIBWAS BELIEVED FOUND



These photographs of the site of what is believed to be weathered remains of a crude boulder temple of the Ojibwa tribe in Eastern Manitoba were taken by the exploring party of the Auditorium Museum at an unrevealed location in the Whiteshell Forest Reserve. The two upper pictures indicate the design of this temple, though only aerial photos can show this adequately The oval picture shows clearly the turtle and serpent imagery,—symbolic of the universal battle between good and evil. The lone boulder shows a human face, intended to represent mankind or some deity The lower left picture shows a crude boulder triangle, a design common to all the freemasonries of all the races of the world.

APPENDIX 2

Correspondence on Bannock Point and Tie Creek
from the
Cecil Patterson File

Appendix 2

Correspondence on Bannock Point and Tie Creek from the Cecil Patterson file.

1. Correspondence

On September 19, 1952, Mr. Patterson wrote a letter to Mr. George Barker, Chief Fire Ranger, Hole River acknowledging a letter which he had received regarding an interview that Barker had conducted with "Mr. Black." In this letter, Patterson had a further request of Barker:

> *"Mr. Douglas Leechman of the Ottawa Museum is anxious to get more information along this line and if you could contact Mr. Black and get another letter and try to get him to explain the design of these rocks. I am attaching a copy of this design which covers 23 acres."*

At the time Leechman was the Chief Archaeologist with the National Museum in Ottawa. He had written two previous letters to Cecil Patterson requesting more information.

On May 31, 1952, Leechman had written to Patterson, who was posted at the Forestry Station at Lac du Bonnet, that he had received a letter in December of 1951 from Mr. Norris-Elye, Director of the Manitoba Museum in which he wrote of the existence of *"an Indian somewhere near Berens River, who is said to be 90, and who well remembers being taken by his father each year to the Whiteshell for ceremonies among the boulder mosaics."* Leechman at the time was attempting to obtain information regarding the elder in order to arrange to have him interviewed.

On December 10, 1951, Norris-Elye had written to Cecil Patterson of Leechman's interest in contacting the elder. In this letter, Norris-Elye stated: *"I have recently written to Dr. Douglas Leechman about several matters relating to anthropology, including the old Indian north of you who claims to have been taken to the Whiteshell with his father for ceremonials."*

On August 20, 1952, Cecil Patterson wrote to Douglas Leechman stating that he was going to write to Chief George Barker to obtain more definite information. He stated: *"With reference to your enquiry of an Indian living who visited the Mosaics in the Whiteshell. There is an Indian by the name of Joe Black who is over 100 years old and claims that when he was a small boy his father used to tell about travelling to this meeting place on the Winnipeg River, which may or may not be where the Mosaics are."*

On June 9, 1955, Dr. Leechman, then Director of Western Canadiana at the Glenbow Foundation, Calgary responded to a request for information on the boulder mosaics from Mr. Hartwell Bowsfield, Secretary of the Historic Sites Advisory Board as follows:

> *A Mr. Cecil Patterson, who was the forest ranger at Lac du Bonnet, was in correspondence with me some time ago and he knows of an old Indian whose father had taken part in ceremonies connected with these mosaics. The biggest one in its outline resembles native drawings on birch bark of the Midewiwin Lodge, a sort of secret society which had various initiations and degrees. I believe that Mr. Patterson is now at The Pas and he may be able to tell you more about this Indian. My own files are not yet unpacked after my move from Ottawa, so I cannot get at the information just now myself."*

In October, 1989, I contacted the Glenbow Foundation for evidence of any such correspondence, but the archivists were not able to locate the correspondence referred to in Leechman's letter. The archivists also added that Leechman's field notes had been missing since 1980, and that these notes may have contained this correspondence.

On November, 1989, Mrs. Terry Patterson provided me with a copy of Cecil Patterson's letter from Wells. The letter is signed by Wells, and Mr. Patterson had noted at the bottom that he had sent a copy to Leechman in 1954. Please refer to the section of the report discussing Mr. Patterson's correspondence for the text of this letter.

2. Clarification of Chronology of Information Received from Joe Black

On page 1 of a letter (translated by George Barker) dated August 20, 1951 from "Old Joe Black", references were made to the general location of ceremonial sites but not to the boulder mosaics. In this letter Black stated: *"And every season we used to have a Big celebration one place on Winnipeg River. Another place drummond point Black Island. Another one Berens River ..."*.

Sometime after receiving this information, Patterson requested that George Barker visit the Elder again, taking with him a map specifically outlining the area of concern (Tie Creek). (See September 19, 1952 letter from Cecil Patterson to George Barker discussed above).

The existence of Black's response (via George Barker) was problematical until the Wells letter was verified in the Patterson archives. That the letter was indeed written is verifiable through Patterson's mention of it in later correspondence dated 1958, and mention of the letter in notes of a lecture which he delivered to the Masons.

On page 2 of his lecture notes (undated) presented to the Masons, Patterson stated:

> *"I had heard, through Chief Geo. Barker of Hole River Reserve that among his tribe was a very old Indian, well past the century mark and still in possession of all his faculties. It occurred to me that this ancient Indian, Joe Black by name, might be able to throw some light on the subject of the unusual mosaic (Tie Creek area). I asked Chief Barker to talk to the old man and write down what information he could*

give. The first letter gave a rambling account of early days and the advent of the white traders, but did not allude to the important question of the mosaics. Chief Barker interrogated the old man again, whose memory goes back 95 years. The second letter, translated and written by Geo. Barker gave us the explanation we were seeking. In conclusion, I shall read these two letters."

APPENDIX 3

Drawings of Tie Creek Petroforms

and

Examples of Information Recorded on Sacred Birch Bark Scrolls

From J. Steinbring. The Tie Creek Boulder Site of Southeastern Manitoba (1970).

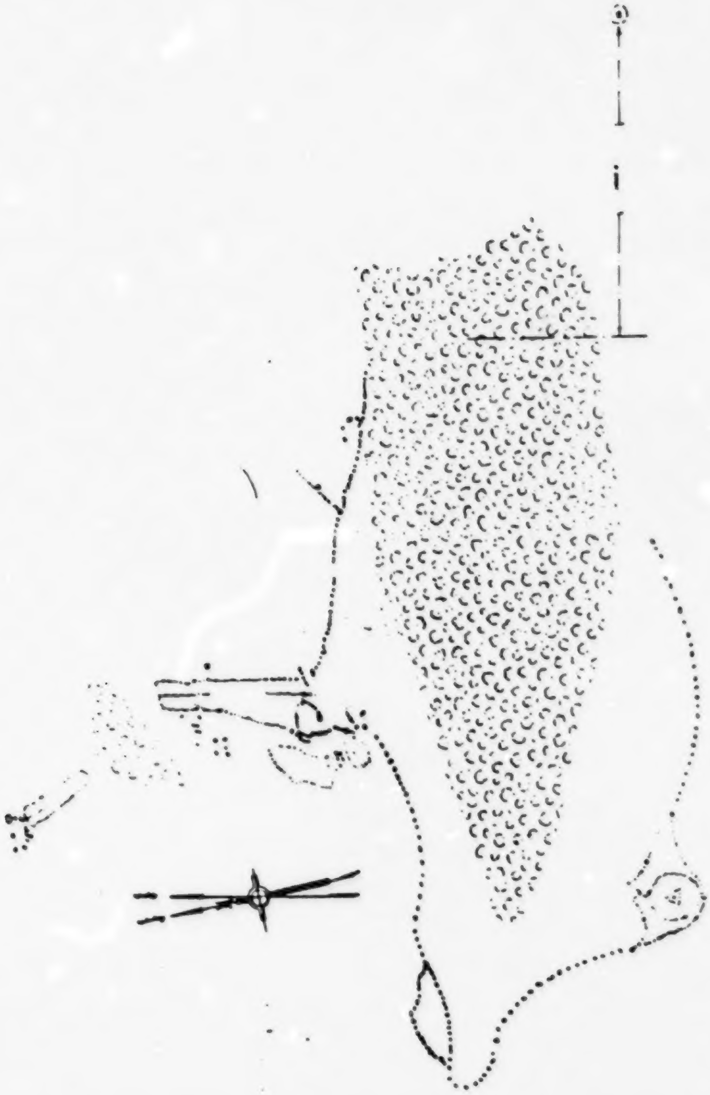


Figure 67. Original map of site data compiled by Mr. W. H. Rand in 1934, drawn by M. Stewart. On file in the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature.

From J. Steinbring. The Tie Creek Boulder Site of Southeastern Manitoba (1970).

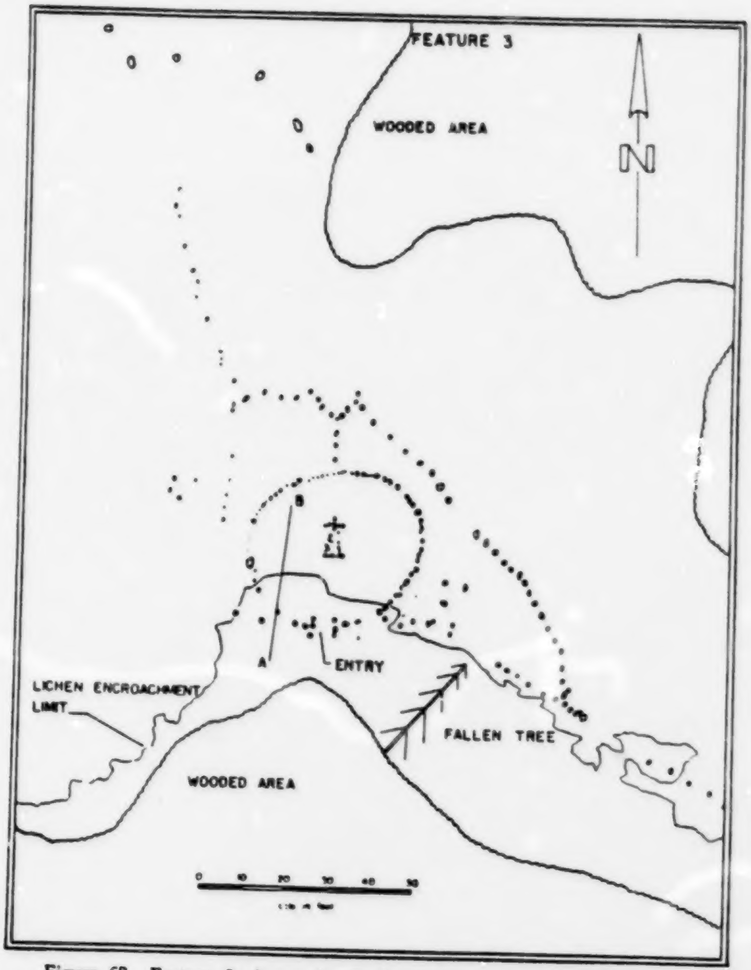

FEATURE 3
WOODED AREA
N
B
A
ENTRY
LICHEN ENCROACHMENT LIMIT
FALLEN TREE
WOODED AREA
0 10 20 30 40 50

Figure 68. Feature 3, drawn by Rothwell from data compiled through air and ground cover by the Manitoba Surveys Branch — 1968.

Dr. W.J. Hoffman. The Midewiwin or Grand Medicine Society of the Ojibwa. (1891).

of the Midē'wigân, as shown in Fig. 30, which illustration is a reproduction of a drawing made by Sikas'sigē.

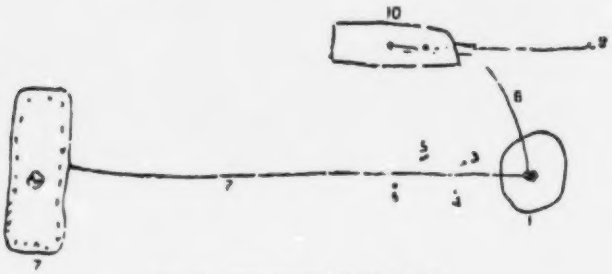


FIG. 35. Indian diagram of ghost lodge.

The following is an explanation of the several characters:

No. 1 represents the wig'iwam of the mourner, which has been erected in the vicinity of the Midē'wigân, until after the ceremony of initiation.

No. 2 is the path supposed to be taken by the shadow (spirit) of the deceased: it leads westward to the Dzhibai' Midē'wigân; literally, shadow-spirit wig'iwam.

No. 3, 4, 5, and 6, designate the places where the spirit plucks the fruits referred to—respectively the strawberry, the blueberry, the June cherries, and the plum.

No. 7 designates the form and location of the Dzhibai' Midē'wigân. The central spot is the place of the dish of food for Dzhibai' Man'idō—the good spirit—and the smaller spots around the interior of the inclosure are places for the deposit of dishes for the other Midē' spirits who have left this earth.

No. 8 is the path which is taken by the candidate when going from his wig'iwam to the Midē'wigân.

No. 9 indicates the place of the sweat-lodge, resorted to at other periods of initiation.

No. 10 is the Midē'wigân in which the ceremony is conducted at the proper time.

It is stated that in former times the Ghost Lodge was erected west of the location of the mourner's wig'iwam, but for a long time this practice has been discontinued. The tradition relating to the Spirit's progress is communicated orally, while the dramatic representation is confined to placing the dishes of food in the Midē'wigân, which is selected as a fitting and appropriate substitute during the night preceding the initiation.

This custom, as it was practiced, consisted of carrying from the mourner's wig'iwam to the Ghost Lodge the dishes of food for the spirits of departed Midē' to enjoy a feast, during the time that the Midē' priests were partaking of one. A large dish was placed in the center of the structure by the mourner, from which the supreme Midē' spirit was to eat. Dishes are now carried to the Midē'wigân, as stated above.

The chief officiating Midē' then instructs the father of the deceased boy the manner in which he is to dress and proceed, as symbolizing the course pursued by the spirit of the son on the way to the spirit

Dr. W.J. Hoffman. The Midewiwin or Grand Medicine Society of the Ojibwa (1891). Example of a Midewiwin Chart.

spots each, which radiate from the larger circle at No. 179 and that before mentioned at No. 116, symbolize the four bear nests and their respective approaches, which are supposed to be placed opposite the four doors of the fourth degree; and it is obligatory, therefore, for a candidate to enter these four doors on hands and knees when appearing for his initiation and before he finally waits to receive the concluding portion of the ceremony.

The illustration presented in Fig. 5 is a reduced copy of a drawing made by Sikas'sigĕ to represent the migration of the Otter toward the west after he had received the rite of the Midē'wiwin. No. 1 refers to the circle upon the large chart on Pl. III A, No. 1, and signifies the earth's surface as before described. No. 2 in Fig. 5 is a line separating the history of the Midē'wiwin from that of the migration as follows: When the Otter had offered four prayers, as above mentioned, which fact is referred to by the spot No. 3, he disappeared beneath the surface of the water and went toward the west, whither the Ani'shinâ'bēg followed him, and located at Ottawa Island (No. 4). Here they erected the Midē'wigân and lived for many years. Then the Otter again disappeared beneath the water, and in a short time reappeared at A'wiat'ang (No. 5), when the Midē'wigân was again erected and the sacred rites conducted in accordance with the teachings of Mi'nabō'zho. Thus was an interrupted migration continued, the several resting places being given below in their proper order, at each of which the rites of the Midē'wiwin were conducted in all their purity. The next place to locate at was Mi'shenama'kinagung — Mackinaw

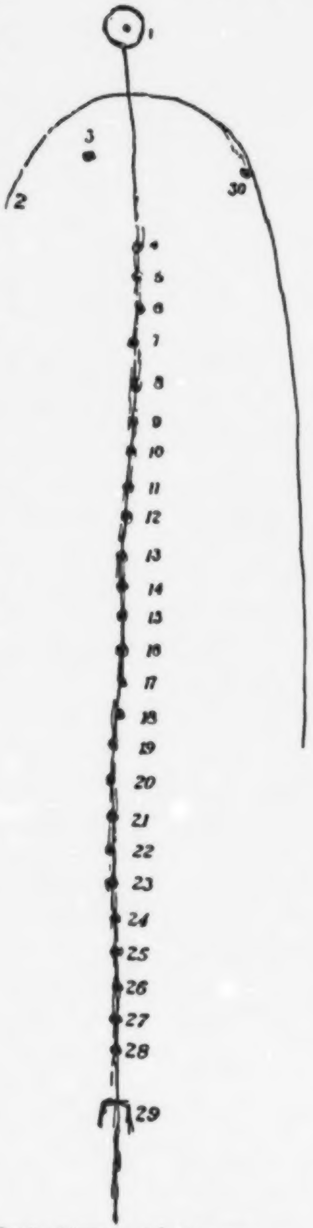


FIG. 5.—Migration of Ánishinâ'beg.

From S. Dewdney. Sacred Scrolls of the Southern Ojibway (1975). Examples of Midewiwin Birchbark Scrolls.

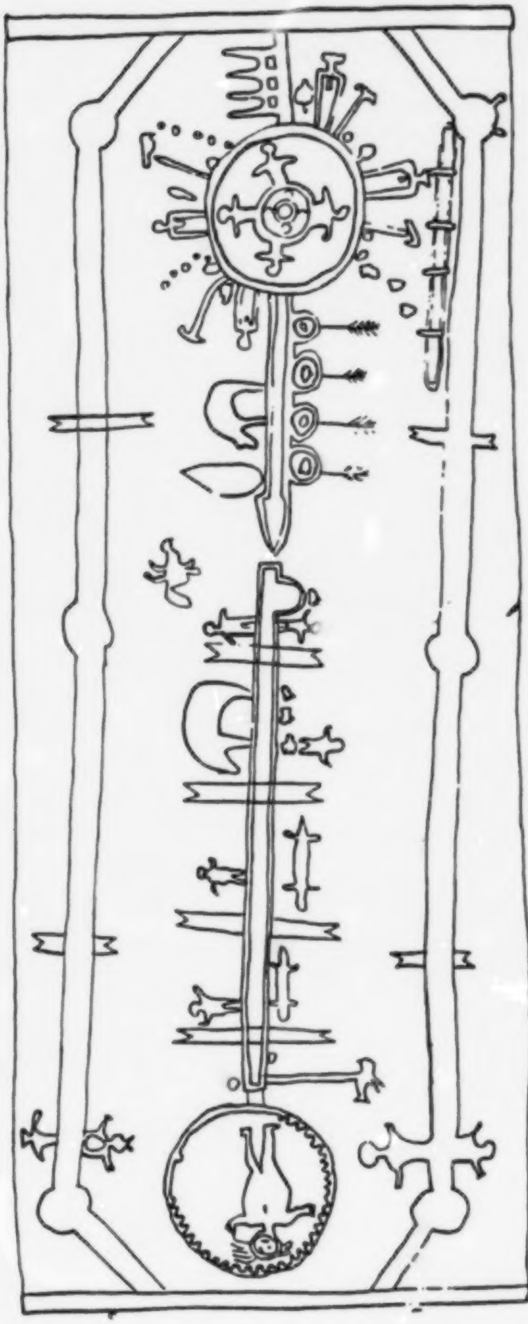


Figure 61 Master scroll (BI-1)

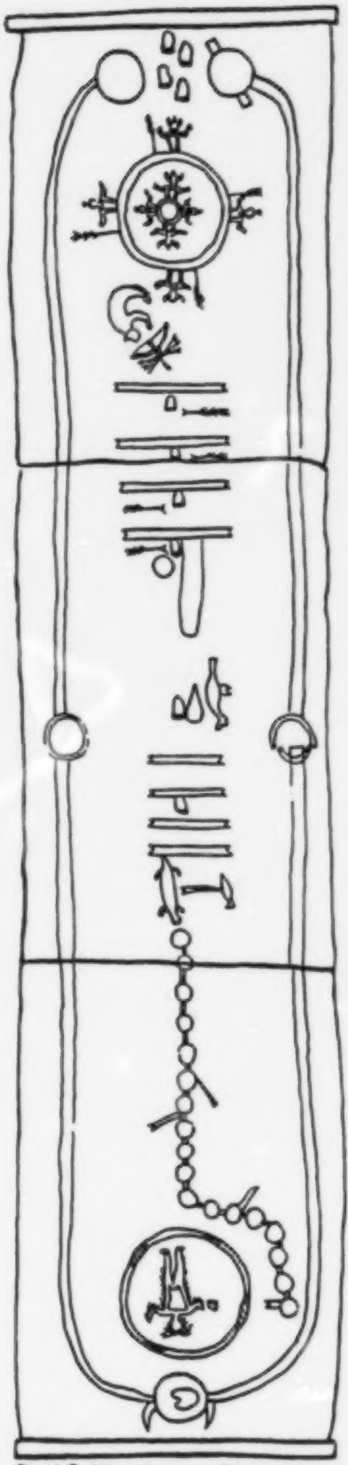


Figure 60 Possible migration scroll (RSM-1)

Royal Scottish Museum - Edinburgh

APPENDIX 4

Examples of Specific Problems
in the Use of
Federal Lands for Religious Purposes
in the United States

Source: American Indian Religious Freedom Act Report, P.L. 95-341. Washington: U.S. Department of the Interior, August 1979.

KEY TO TABLES

CONSULTATIONS
A ... Anchorage, Alaska, July 12, 1979
C ... Colville Reservation, Nespelem, Washington, June 14-15, 1979
G ... Great Falls, Montana, June 19-20, 1979
H ... Honolulu, Hawaii, June 13, 1979
M ... Cass Lake, Minnesota, June 11-12, 1979
N ... Norman, Oklahoma, June 26, 1979
O ... Norman, Oklahoma, June 27, 1979
Q ... Cherokee, North Carolina, June 29, 1979
R ... Reno-Sparks, Nevada, June 30, 1979
S ... Swiftbird, South Dakota, June 7-8, 1979
Z ... Zuni, New Mexico, June 22-23, 1979

Number following key letter refers to page of consultation transcript.

DOCUMENTATION D ... Written Submittals

Number following key letter refers to document index number.

EXAMPLES OF SPECIFIC PROBLEMS IN THE USE OF FEDERAL LANDS

LOCATION/TRIBE/GROUP		PROBLEMS	STATUS	REF
Kiowa		successful implementation of P.L. 95-341 requires permanent consultative mechanism		A:11
Alaska	Eskimo	religion endangered by depletion, theft of natural resources		A:16
Alaska	Eskimo	religion has natural resource base, which is threatened		A:23
Alaska	Caribou Band	low priority of subsistence use in d-2 land allocations, ANCSA implementation		A:34
Alaska	Athabascan	cabin threatened by park expansion proposal - NPS		A:39
Alaska	Alaska Native	dam project may harm traditional religion and culture (ACE)		A:54
Alaska	Alaska Native	federally-granted easements on Native land damage subsistence vegetation (BLM)		A:57
Alaska	Alaska Native	ANCSA land with sacred site subject to taxation		A:57
Alaska	Alaska Native	HUD regulations prohibit traditional housing; ignore cultural values in design	regulations under review	A:57
Barrow, Alaska	Eskimo	whaling and caribou hunting regulations violate traditional requirements (NOAA/FWS)		A:65
Beaufort Sea, Alaska	Eskimo	off-shore drilling disrupts whale migrations (DOI)		A:68 D:12

LAND (2)

LOCATION/TRIBE/GROUP		PROBLEMS	STATUS	REF
North Slope, Alaska	Eskimo	industrial pollution threatens subsistence		A:70
Alaska	Eskimo	animals will vanish if hunting not carefully conducted according to tradition		A:72 D:16
Alaska	Eskimo	lack of access to beluga whales, to ugruk (NMFS/NOAA)		A:73 D:18
Alaska	Eskimo	convicted for taking moose for ceremonial purposes	in litigation	A:76
Alaska	Eskimo	regulation of ritual hunting and fishing (FWS/NOAA)		A:86
Alaska	Alaska Native	fish & game regulations violate Native custom		A:112
California	Pomo	tribes thrown off the land		A:114
California	Pomo	regulations hinder traditional subsistence (FWS)		A:114
California	Pomo	industrial pollution threatens water, fish		A:115
Point Conception, California	Chumash	LNG terminal on sacred site		A:116 & D:105
North Slope, Alaska	Eskimo	National Petroleum Reserve, vast areas off-limits, with Inupiat traditional fishing camps, other uses		A:120

LAND (3)

LOCATION/TRIBE/GROUP		PROBLEMS	STATUS	REF
Anaktuvuk Pass, Alaska	Eskimo	had to resort to zoning power to override BLM permit for maintenance camps on sacred site		A:121
Alaska	Eskimo	spring whaling ceremony cancelled by bowhead whale moratorium	IWC action (US domestic exception)	A:122 D:13,15
Mt. McKinley, Alaska	Athabascan	return mountain and park to its original name, Denali		A:125
Oklahoma	Kiowa	lack of access to sites in Wichita National Wildlife Refuge	access by FWS permit	M:14
Ft. Sill, Oklahoma	Kiowa	lack of access to sites, Medicine Bluff used as Army training area		M:14,136
Texas	Kiowa	peyote lands in private ownership of oil companies, ranchers, dealers; land closed to Indian harvesting		M:37
Texas	Kiowa	selling peyote to hippies	DEA monitoring	M:37
McAlester Ammo Depot, Okla.	Kickapoo	can't take deer because of Army adherence to state game laws under 10 USC 2671		M:45
Oklahoma	Kickapoo	gathering reeds	access by FWS and FS permit	M:49
Texas	Ute	federal laws don't extend to private peyote fields		M:120

LAND (4)

LOCATION/TRIBE/GROUP		PROBLEMS	STATUS	REF
Wichita Mountains, Okla.	Wichita-Caddo	FS officers interfered with religious retreat	special use permits available	H:136
Wichita NWR	Wichita-Caddo	roundup of buffalo, deer, elk not offered to Indians	FWS examining policy and procedures	H:136
Utah	Ute	lack of access to gathering sites in FS lands	access by special use permit	O:8
Utah	Ute	access to sites not protected, complaints sworn by non-Indian against Utes		O:13
Oklahoma	Cherokee	lack of access to sites		O:24
Oklahoma	Muskogee	BIA abandonment of tribal town system	litigated in favor of tribal town system (*Harjo v. Kleppe*)	O:54,62
Oklahoma	Muskogee	lack of access to private land for hunting, gathering		O:57
Oklahoma	Muskogee	having to pay private landowners for use of tribal grounds		O:93
Oklahoma	Muskogee	gathering herbs on private land		O:95
Oklahoma	Muskogee	gathering heron feathers	FWS review	O:133
Bear Butte, South Dakota	Cheyenne	lack of access to site; need of protection from recreational uses, commercial development		O:142,150 D:11

LAND (5)

LOCATION/TRIBE/GROUP		PROBLEMS	STATUS	REF
Oklahoma	Cheyenne	need protection for sacred sites and ceremonial grounds, and possession of Bear Butte, SD		O:149
Oklahoma	Cheyenne	hunting and gathering on former reservation land		O:150
New Mexico	AILSA	competition for land use at sites		D:1
Oklahoma	Kickapoo	request to state to hunt deer out of season		D:8
Oklahoma	Kickapoo	request for deer for Green Corn Dance and Spring Feast ceremonies		D:9
Oklahoma	Cheyenne	hunting and gathering requirements for Tsistsistas (Cheyenne) ceremony		D:11
Oklahoma	Cheyenne	more stringent laws for sport hunting and fishing		D:11
New Mexico	Isleta Pueblo	access to sites prevented by land speculation		R:5
New Mexico	Isleta Pueblo	lack of access to mountaintops off-reservation		R:7
New Mexico	Isleta Pueblo	ownership of sites by dint of original use not honored		R:8
Nevada		access to herbal gathering places		R:12
Yosemite National Park	Yosemite	NPS consultation deadline on development too short		R:25

LAND (6)

LOCATION/TRIBE/GROUP		PROBLEMS	STATUS	REF
Nevada	Washoe	state opposition to devolution of BLM land to tribes		R:36,45
Nevada	Washoe	lack of federal control on state and private land		R:37
Nevada	Washoe	state hunting and fishing regulations enforced on reservation	in litigation	R:43
Nevada	Washoe	BLM uncooperative in discussing consolidation of tribal jurisdiction		R:44
Pine Nut Mt., Nevada	Washoe	BLM uncooperative in assisting in tribal wildlife management planning		R:47
Nevada	Washoe	non-Indians poaching Christmas trees on reservation		R:62
Oregon	Paiute-Shoshone	land problems relative to Klamath termination and Edison Chiloquin (Klamath Indian who didn't take termination money, wants homeland	FS permit for Chiloquin remaining on land - administrative and legislative conveyance being explored	R:65 D:106
Nevada		local agreements often contravened by agency chain of command		R:73
Reno, Nevada	Reno-Sparks	sweat lodge needs single-use fire permit under city outdoor barbecue regulations		R:85
North Carolina	Eastern Cherokee	preservation of sites		S

LAND (7)

LOCATION/TRIBE/GROUP		PROBLEMS	STATUS	REF
Kahoolawe Island, Hawaii	Native Hawaiian	site used as bombing range	in litigation, US Navy	H:14,32 H:102,154 D:84,89
Koa, Hawaii	Native Hawaiian	access, destruction by aerial bombardment		H:21
Volcanoes National Park	Native Hawaiian	no place to worship Pele, NPS restrictions		H:24
Makua Valley, Oahu, Hawaii	Native Hawaiian	use as bombing range		H:32
Hawaii	Native Hawaiian	religious sites are off-limits (NPS)		H:31,32
Hawaii	Native Hawaiian	geothermal development threatens Pele, fire god		H:35
Hawaii	Native Hawaiian	lack of access for gathering places ceremonies (NPS)		H:35
Kaneohe MCAS, Kahoolawe Is., Hawaii	Native Hawaiian	lack of access for Kahuna leaders	US Navy permits access	H:68 S
Hawaii	Native Hawaiian	bombing of islands		D:86 H:86
Hawaii	Native Hawaiian	no National Register sites of Native Hawaiian religious significance		H:120
Hawaii	Native Hawaiian	no Native sites under Historic Preservation Act		H:120

LAND (8)

LOCATION/TRIBE/GROUP		PROBLEMS	STATUS	REF
Hawaii	Native Hawaiian	religious site destruction, no federal rehabilitation assistance		H:122
Hawaii	Native Hawaiian	lack of access for Natives; too much access for non-Natives		H:122
Hawaii	Native Hawaiian	lack of access to gathering indigenous resources		H:122
Hawaii	Native Hawaiian	water resources being dissipated, affront to Kane, water god		H:141
Kiahole Point, Hawaii	Native Hawaiian	lost title to Ulumau Village		H:148
Montana	Crow	roads and dams in sacred sites		S
Bear Butte, SD	Sioux	tourists invade privacy of ceremonies		S
Black Hills, SD	Sioux	uranium mining threatens sacred sites		S M:20
Black Hills, SD	Sioux	Black Hills not for sale	court of claims decision to award cash	S
Black Hills, SD	Sioux	lack of access to sites	FS permit pending	S
Southwest	Native American Church	access to peyote on federal land		S
Texas	Kiowa	access to peyote land foreclosed by wilderness designation proposal		S

LAND (9)

LOCATION/TRIBE/GROUP		PROBLEMS	STATUS	REF
Bear Butte & Black Hills, SD	Sioux	lack of privacy from tourists		S
	AILC/NARF	right to gather and use indigenous natural products		S
	AILC/NARF	Native customary laws on sites to be recognized as law		S
Minnesota		NPS doesn't want Indians in to mess up the park		M:13
Various sites		industrial pollution threatens sites		M:20
Northeast Arizona		power plant effluent threatens sites		M:20
Arizona		pollution kills medicine plants		M:20
Minnesota		lack of access to deer on FS land		M:34
Mille Lacs Res., Minnesota	Chippewa	man arrested for spearfishing for funeral ceremony		M:45
Guadalupe Peak, Organ Mountain, Three Sisters, Oscura Peak, NM	Mescalero Apache	lack of access to sites		S:8
White Sands, New Mexico	Mescalero Apache	lack of access to sites; lack of access to sage gathering, other plants, rocks, soils		S:10,21

LAND (10)

LOCATION/TRIBE/GROUP		PROBLEMS	STATUS	REF
New Mexico	Mescalero Apache	lack of access to sites for yucca, mesquero, Indian bananas, sumac berries, dirt, rocks		S:9
New Mexico	Mescalero Apache	lack of access to mesquite beans along highways		S:11
New Mexico	Taos Pueblo	lack of access to ceremonial materials		S:20
Lincoln National Forest	Mescalero Apache	Forest Service limits access to Guadalupe Peak		S:21
New Mexico	Santa Clara Pueblo	access to sites not to be qualified by excessive regulation		S:23
New Mexico	Santa Clara Pueblo	access to sites for collecting feathers and parts limited by conservation laws	FWS revising procedures	S:24
Jemez Mountain, New Mexico	Santa Clara Pueblo	geothermal development threatens sacred site	EIS copies to Pueblos, tours of site	S:24
Minnesota	Chippewa	FS/NPS hunting and fishing arrests; same laws apply equally to sport and subsistence		M:48
Nett Lake Res., Minnesota	Chippewa	state game laws apply on reservation land		M:50
Twin Lake-Wild Rice River, Minnesota	Chippewa	dam project adjacent to reservation threatens ricing, fishing, hunting; no prior consulation (ACE)		M:52

LAND (11)

LOCATION/TRIBE/GROUP		PROBLEMS	STATUS	REF
Minnesota	Chippewa	access to ceremonial land off-reservation conflicts with state laws		M:54
Minnesota	Chippewa	modern tribal development over historic sites should be unhampered by preservation regulations		M:82
Minneapolis, Minnesota	Sioux	post office parking ramp located on 1000 year old campsite without impact statement or consultation		M:83
Washington	Okanogan-Colville	prayer sites, gathering sites have 'no trespass' signs		C:6
Washington		need access to tipi poles on FS land		C:65
New Mexico	Mescalero Apache	access to sites for subsistence and rites	Park Service Special Directive 78-1 accommodates access for gathering	S:8
New Mexico	Santa Clara Pueblo	fear of eventual foreign ownership of sites		S:25
Santa Fe, Cibola National Forest, NM	San Felipe Pueblo	lack of access to sites	access by FS permit	S:30
Jemez Mountain, New Mexico	San Felipe Pueblo	lack of access to sites		S:30
Cibola NWR, NM	San Felipe Pueblo	lack of access to sites		S:30

LAND (12)

LOCATION/TRIBE/GROUP		PROBLEMS	STATUS	REF
New Mexico	San Felipe Pueblo	lack of access to animals for ceremonial use		S:30
New Mexico	San Felipe Pueblo	development threatens site		S:32
New Mexico	Santa Clara Pueblo	lack of access to animals for ceremonial use on federal land		S:44
New Mexico	Santa Clara Pueblo	state game laws honored on federal land, limiting access for ceremonial use		S:39,43
New Mexico, Arizona	Navajo	lack of access to animals for ceremonial use on federal land		S:44
New Mexico	Santa Clara Pueblo	resource development threatens sites		S:48
Arizona	Hopi	lack of access to sites		S:62,81
San Francisco Peaks, Arizona	Hopi	use and restoration of site; development threatens site	FS decision to permit ski development on administrative appeal	S:63,72 S:87,220
Arizona	Hopi	private owners charge fees for ceremonial use of property		S:63
Arizona	Hopi	denied access to Douglas Fir boughs		S:71,85
Arizona	Hopi	lack of access to sites for tobacco and herbal medicine		S:85

LAND (13)

LOCATION/TRIBE/GROUP		PROBLEMS	STATUS	REF
Arizona	Hopi	lack of access to clay and mineral sites		S:85
Hopi	Hopi	federally-assisted housing built on sacred site		S:95
Hopi	Hopi	federally-funded water and sewer lines disrupt site use and preservation		S:95
Hotevilla, AZ	Hopi	civic building on sacred land		S:95 D:3
Arizona	Hopi	federal and tribal governments don't recognize and consult with religious leaders		S:96
Arizona	Hopi	BIA development programs don't respond to traditional needs		S:96
New Mexico	Jicarilla Apache	lack of access to sacred pottery clay, herbs, stones on state and private land		S:104
Mount Taylor, Mt. Flagstaff, Eagle Peak, White Mountain	Acoma Pueblo	lack of access to sites		S:125
New Mexico	Acoma Pueblo	residential development on sites		S:126
New Mexico	Acoma Pueblo	tourist trespass on sites		S:127

LAND (14)

LOCATION/TRIBE/GROUP		PROBLEMS	STATUS	REF
Four Corners, NM,AZ,CO,UT	Navajo	mineral resource development threatens sites		S:132
Southwest	Navajo	access, development around sacred mountains		S:134
Southwest	Navajo	FS personnel rude to traditional medicine men		S:140
Southwest	Navajo	lack of access; too many interrogations on access for herb-gathering; no simple permanent permit for access		S:141
San Francisco Peaks, AZ	Navajo (Hopi, Zuni, White Mountain Apache)	ski development; non-Indian drinking and carousing at sacred site	FS - administrative appeal	S:146 D:47,58
Colorado	Ute Mountain Ute	holding ceremonies off-reservation		S:152
New Mexico	Santa Clara Pueblo	need protection of and access to 17 mountain peaks		S:158
Redondo Peak	Santa Clara Pueblo	geothermal development may threaten site	DOE consulting	S:159
Six Rivers National Forest, California	Yurok-Hoopa	FS logging and access road, Gasquet-Orleans Road		S:164
Southwest	Zuni	conflict of archaeological and sacred use classifications		S:164

LAND (15)

LOCATION/TRIBE/GROUP		PROBLEMS	STATUS	REF
Grand Canyon National Park	Zuni	lack of access to sites		S:220
mouth of the Little Colorado River	Zuni	access to site for critical ceremonial denied by BLM lessee		S:220
New Mexico	Zuni	no easement rights on pilgrimage path across private range land		S:221
New Mexico	Zuni	problem of revealing location of some sites (fear of vandalism, excavation)		S:222
New Mexico	Zuni	no tribal consultation on federal development: stripmining, roads		S:222
New Mexico	Zuni	lack of access to sites		S:229
New Mexico	Santo Domingo Pueblo	stripmining destroys sites on aboriginal land, on public domain land under Act of 1872		S:245
New Mexico	Santo Domingo Pueblo	erosion of tribal land base		S:248
Trick Falls, Montana	Blackfeet	lack of physical access (NPS)		G:201
Two Medicine Lake, Mont.	Crow	electric fence prevents access to site, prevents game animals from crossing onto reservation	fence emplaced by Crow Tribe to control buffalo herd on reservation	G:201

LAND (16)

LOCATION/TRIBE/GROUP		PROBLEMS	STATUS	REF
Great Bear Wilderness Area, Mont.	Blackfeet	divergent EIS requirements of EPA, NPS, no prior consultation		G:203
Montana	Blackfeet	oil & gas drilling disrupts sites despite 16 USC 480-431		G:206
Montana	Blackfeet	no prior consultation by USGS on sites in path of development		G:211
Montana	Blackfeet	oil wells in midst of traditional tipi ring		G:214
Montana	Blackfeet	trails and roads disrupt sites		G:215
Montana	Peigan (Blood/Blackfeet)	access to Sweetgrass Hills, Cypress Hills, Writing-on-Stone		G:228
Canada	Colville	site development in Canada		G:379
Alaska	Alaska Natives	allotment applications denied by BLM because of conflicting interpretation of private land use		D:20
Washington	Colville	need protection for enumerated sacred sites		D:34
Washington	Colville	ceremonial fishing grounds		D:35
Mount Taylor, New Mexico		uranium mine threatens sacred area		D:47

LAND (17)

LOCATION/TRIBE/GROUP		PROBLEMS	STATUS	REF
Coconino National Forest		commercial logging and cinder mining		D:47
Florida	Miccosukee	lack of access to sites, no tribal control over non-Native access to sites; lack of access to gathering places		D:57
Southwest	Navajo	non-indigenous plants used to reseed stripmined area drive out medicinal herbs		D:58
Mount Taylor	Navajo	lack of access to sites - FS		D:58
Blanca Peak	Navajo	lack of access to sites		D:58
Hesperus Peak	Navajo	lack of access to sites		D:58
Black Mesa, AZ	Navajo	list of native flora		D:58
Washington	Colville	repairs on a dam without Native consultation		C:85
Washington	Colville	fishing, hunting, gathering rights should be guaranteed by treaties		C:111
Columbia River, Washington	Colville	dams on river stopped subsistence salmon fishing		C:125
Chief Joseph Dam, Washington	Colville	ceremonial fishing at base of dam halted by state game officials		C:127

LAND (18)

LOCATION/TRIBE/GROUP		PROBLEMS	STATUS	REF
Washington	Colville	reservation does not share in US v Washington decision fishing rights		C:128
Washington	Colville	FWS Winthrop fish hatchery no longer takes trout eggs for hatching		C:130
Washington	Colville	logging destroys huckleberry patches		C:141
Star Lake-Bisti, Navajo Reservation	Navajo	BLM environmental impact statement on strip mine failed to consider Religious Freedom Act		D:61
Coconino National Forest		opposing development on San Francisco Peaks		D:63,64 D:71-83
Hawaii	Native Hawaiian	easements to aboriginal areas needed; need inventory of Native religious sites		D:68
Hawaii	Native Hawaiian	NPS' lack of understanding of Native beliefs causes desecration		D:84
Leeward Islands, Hawaii	Native Hawaiian	FWS has 'no trespass' signs at some sites		D:84
Hawaii	Native Hawaiian	Kaula Island used as aerial gunnery range, destroying birds; home of Shark (family aumakua)		D:84
Hawaii	Native Hawaiian	Pearl Harbor off-limits		D:84

LAND (19)

LOCATION/TRIBE/GROUP		PROBLEMS	STATUS	REF
Hawaii	Native Hawaiian	konohikis (relious oriented fishing rights) denied		D:84
Hawaii	Native Hawaiian	lack of access to sacred sites		D:89,92
Point Conception, California	Chumash	lack of access to site	agreement signed with private owner	D:94
NARF/AILC Religious Freedom Project		lack of access to sites		D:96
NARF/AILC Religious Freedom Project		no laws to protect holy places *qua* holy places for Native religious use; why cultural problems have prevented officials applying existing statutes to protection of sites		D:97
Washington	Nisqually	lack of access to mountains, to mountain campsites		D:109
Washington	Nisqually	lack of access to huckleberry grounds		D:108
Washington	Nisqually	Forest Service no longer allows access to commercially unusable cedar trees for ceremonial longhouse frames		D:109
Washington	Nisqually	lack of access to shellfish, halibut, seals, whales		D:109

LAND (20)

LOCATION/TRIBE/GROUP		PROBLEMS	STATUS	REF
Wildhorse Reservoir, Nevada	Duck Valley Band	non-Indian opposition to transfer of fishing rights to Indians on reservoir		D:107
Pyramid Lake, Nevada	Washoe	dispute over state fishing permit requirements at site		D:107
Nisqually River, Washington	Nisqually	decline of salmon and steelhead runs		D:109
Alder Dam, Washington	Nisqually	dam failed to provide spring salmon access		D:109
Washington	Nisqually	NMFS promotes saltwater catches which prevent conservation of individual ceremonial runs		D:109
North Fork Skokomish R., and Centralia Diversion, Nisqually R.	Nisqually	artificial hatcheries and diversion of hatching sites to other uses fails to consider traditional ceremonial sites		D:109
Washington	Nisqually	Commerce Dept. fails to regulate ocean troll fleet at expense of ceremonial fish runs		D:109
Fort Lewis, Washington	Nisqually	Muck Creek chum habitat used by US Army as rocket range and tank course		D:109
Washington	.Nisqually	lack of access to black carrots, pehrhe' roots		D:109

LAND (21)

LOCATION/TRIBE/GROUP		PROBLEMS	STATUS	REF
Southwest Northeast	Hopi Iroquois	jurisdiction on reservation under those whose enforcement against abuse is inadequate and whose Understanding of Indian religious needs is minimal; federal jurisdiction should be decreased, tribal jurisdiction increased		S:81,82 D:NFP
New Mexico	19 Pueblos	all lands traditionally occupied and travelled by Pueblos, and ability to commune with those lands, are important to religious practice; any subject federal policy should be applied to all lands, not only isolated sacred spots		D:110
New Mexico	19 Pueblos	need statutory framework for protection of religious practices, lands, objects on same basis as protection for ecologically sensitive areas		D:110
New Mexico	19 Pueblos	agencies need directives for tribal consultation for procedures for unrestricted tribal access to and use of sites, with minimal or no documentation and no permit requirements		D:110
New Mexico	19 Pueblos	need for unrestricted religious ceremonial hunting and fishing, with management reliance on tribal conservation traditions, not artificial quota system		D:110

LAND (22)

LOCATION/TRIBE/GROUP		PROBLEMS	STATUS	REF
New Mexico	19 Pueblos	need for protection of waters of religious significance, with no federal actions to diminish or degrade natural flows taken without due consultation with affected tribes		D:110
New Mexico	19 Pueblos	need directive to those agencies initiating or approving projects or actions affecting sacred lands or objects to notify and consult with tribes in land-use planning, without limitation to those instances where environmental law applies		D:110
New Mexico	19 Pueblos	Pueblo leaders find no change in federal land-managing agencies' practices since passage of P.L. 95-341; more than Executive Order needed to change attitudes		D:110

EXAMPLES OF SPECIFIC PROBLEMS RELATING TO CEMETERIES

LOCATION/TRIBE/GROUP		PROBLEMS	STATUS	REF
South Dakota	Sioux	opposes disinterment		S
Kahoolawe Is., Hawaii	Native Hawaiian	bombing range is Native cemetery	in litigation, Dept of Navy	S
Hawaii	Native Hawaiian	disturbance of burials		S,H:20
Mille Lacs Res., Minnesota	Chippewa	housing development on fee-patent land threatens cemetery		M:63
Hawaii	Native Hawaiian	archaeologists don't get prior approval from Natives on excavations		H:122
Grand Coulee Dam, Washington	Okanogan-Colville	waited 40 years for Bureau of Reclamation to reinter bodies disturbed by dam construction and flooding; remains left in boxes in museum basement		C:3
Washington	Colville	disruption of burials; disinterment due to flooding from dam construction (ACE, BuRec)	Colville/ACE agreement regarding reinterment and disposition of remains	C:49,50
Tulsa, Okla.		BIA referred bodies disturbed by highway construction to Univ. of Okla. without consulting Indians		C:84
Montana	Blackfeet	DHEW funds used to enforce state law reinterring traditional above-ground burials	IHS developing policy	G:194
Montana	Blackfeet	desecration of burials		G:191

CEMETERIES (2)

LOCATION/TRIBE/GROUP		PROBLEMS	STATUS	REF
Northwest	Nez Perce	protection of remains		G:344
Los Angeles	Nez Perce	dealing in skulls; a relative's skull being used as an ashtray		G:345
Southwest	Hopi	tribal anti-vandalism laws don't apply to non-Indians; outside law enforcement agencies fail to enforce their own anti-vandalism statutes	legislation pending	E:85
New Mexico	Santa Clara Pueblo	excavation and removal of artifacts; HR 1825 not specifically protective of sites off-reservation		E:112
New Mexico	Zuni	not always prior consultation on site development		E:173
New Mexico, Arizona	Zuni	site identification based on archaeological, not sacred value; inherent conflict between identification and privacy of use		E:174
New Mexico	Zuni	sites on private land; sites on state land; unsatisfactory cooperation from state agencies		E:175
New Mexico	Zuni	art market values encourage vandalism; enforcement problem resulting from *Diaz* decision	legislation pending	E:184
New Mexico	Zuni	theft, vandalism, gravorobbing		E:179,231
New Mexico	Zuni	no US implementation of UNESCO cultural property convention		E:187

CEMETERIES (3)

LOCATION/TRIBE/GROUP		PROBLEMS	STATUS	REF
Aleutian Islands, Alaska	Pribilof Island Aleut	archaeological disinterment, US Army, Forest Service		A:6
Alaska	Alaska Native	archaeological disinterment without consultation		A:55
Alaska	Native	easements on federal land destroy cemetery sites		A:57
California	Pomo	denied access to cemeteries; denied continued use of cemeteries		A:115
Chief Joseph Dam, Washington	Colville	disposition of funerary artifacts	working agreement between Colville and Army Corps of Engineers	D:25
Makua Valley, Hawaii	Native Hawaiian	bombing range; Native trespass convictions; insecticide spraying all on sacred site		B:32
Point Conception, California	Chumash	LNG terminal project threatens cemetery		A:116
Oregon		vandalism		D:37
Link River, Oregon		development on cemetery ground		D:38
Big Bend Dam, SD	Sioux	disinterment for development, Army Corps of Engineers		D:39
Oregon		site disturbed by development		D:40

CEMETERIES (4)

LOCATION/TRIBE/GROUP		PROBLEMS	STATUS	REF
Oregon		disinterment, no reinterment		D:41
Oregon		materials on Oregon burial site protection law		D:42,43 D:45,46
Oregon		administrator of Oregon burial ground protection law has no enforcement power		D:45
Washington	Yakima	special laws on Indian sites insulting; rather enforcement of general graverobbing laws		D:45
Klamath Falls, Oregon		tourist office publicity promotes site vandalism		D:45
Oregon	Cow Creek Umpqua	law has minor penalties, indifferent enforcement		D:45
Alexandria, Indiana		landfill threatens cemetery		D:48
Maryland	Piscataway	NPS denied burial for Chief Turkey Tayac in Piscataway Capital Park	legislation pending	D:50
Lancaster, Pennsylvania		archaeological disinterment		D:51
Pierre, SD	Sioux	landmark cemetery to become housing development		D:52
Florida	Miccosukee	no access to cemeteries for burials; no excavation without prior tribal approval		D:58

CEMETERIES (5)

LOCATION/TRIBE/GROUP		PROBLEMS	STATUS	REF
New Mexico	Zuni	no protection for off-reservation sites		Z:191
New Mexico	Zuni	archaeologists have no mechanism for consulting with traditional leaders		Z:197
New Mexico	Zuni	no enforcement of site protection laws		Z:199
New Mexico	Zuni	Pueblo antiquities law doesn't extend to non-Indian vandalism, the major cause		Z:200
New Mexico	Zuni	no maintenance of off-reservation sites		Z:231
New Mexico	Zuni	no protection against digging up graves		Z:231
Oklahoma	Southern Cheyenne	disinterment without consent		M:106
Oklahoma	Cherokee	disinterment of remains		O:117
California, Nevada	Yosemite, Washoe	no protection of burials and artifacts by NPS		B:27,33
Nevada	Washoe	insufficient cataloguing and surveying of sites		B:34
North Carolina	Eastern Cherokee	Tellico Dam to flood cemetery sites	TVA to reinter all Cherokee remains	E
North Carolina	Eastern Cherokee	archaeological disinterment	halted 1978, TVA will reinter all Cherokee remains	E

CEMETERIES (6)

LOCATION/TRIBE/GROUP		PROBLEMS	STATUS	REF
Washington	Colville	no ritual reinterment after flooding of cemetery by dam		C:85
Washington	Colville	disturbing burial sites		C:105
Washington	Colville	bodies shouldn't be touched by undertaker for three days		C:109
Washington	Colville	Grand Coulee Dam flooded sites		C:134
Kettle Falls, Washington	Colville	remains from area archaeological sites not reintered with proper traditional ceremony		C:135
Washington	Colville	burial sites on reservoir banks washing away; no proper reinterment		C:143
Coulee City, Washington	Colville	pot hunters vandalizing sites at Coyote's Punch Bowl, Steamboat Rock		C:145
Washington	Colville	cemeteries meant to be permanent		C:149
Marin County, California		urban development endangers Native burial sites		D:62
New Mexico	Zuni	religious values should take precedence over archaeological ones in matters of exhumations; inundation need not be sufficient cause for exhumation; disposition of gravegoods should be controlled by tribe		D:69

CEMETERIES (7)

LOCATION/TRIBE/GROUP		PROBLEMS	STATUS	REF
Oklahoma	Pawnee	disturbances of burial sites		D:70
NARF/AILC Religious Freedom Project		recommendations on treatment of burial sites		D:96
Carson Valley, Nevada	Washoe	sewage wetlands project threatens 12,000 year old Washoe and pre-Washoe burial site		D:108